

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR
OF SAEI:DI
EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL
ARABIC

by

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PREFACE

This study presents the first descriptive analysis of the structure of *səfi:di*, the variety of Egyptian Arabic spoken by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley between Cairo and Aswan.

Besides the major purpose of describing the phonemics, morphemics and syntax of *səfi:di*, it is hoped that this study would contribute to dialect studies of the varieties of Arabic spoken in Egypt, and to comparative studies of Arabic dialects.

I can hardly find adequate words to express how deep my appreciation is for those scholars at the University of Texas who, by training me thoroughly in structural linguistics, have helped in making this, the first descriptive grammar of *səfi:di*, possible.

To Professor Walter Lehn of the University of Texas, I owe much of the most helpful suggestions.

I am profoundly grateful to Professor Archibald A. Hill, to whom I owe not only excellent counsel and instructive suggestion but also much of training in structural linguistics.

I am especially indebted to Professor Winfred P. Lehmann, whose encouragement, patience and wise criticism during my training as a linguist and all through this study, have helped me fare safely through the hazardous linguistic adventure of describing a language for the first time.

I am a student of the late Professor E. Bagby Atwood, whose loss was a blow to all who knew him. I owe much of my early orientation in linguistics to Professor Atwood. The warmth of his friendship is unquenchable in the stream of days.

To a great scholar from Brown University I owe much of the encouragement and help needed for the accomplishment of this work.

Cairo, May 1967

A. A. KHALAFALLAH



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PART 1

PHONEMICS

2. A larger number of classicisms (e.g., /Pús̩wa/ 'behavior model').
3. Quotations from Alqur'a:n, Alħadi:th, classical poetry and prose, spoken in accordance with the rules given by the classical grammarians.

Group 2 is characterized by:

1. The occurrence of the sequence /PiC₁C₂-/, where the speech of group 1 has C₁C₂- (e.g., /Pibrá:m/ 'cooking pottery').
2. The occurrence of the sequence -C₁VC₂C₃- where group 1 has -C₁C₂C₃- (e.g., /iánizhom/ 'their goat').
3. The occurrence of the sequence -C₁VC₂ where group 1 has -C₁C₂ (e.g., /rátez/ 'trotting').
4. The virtually complete absence of classicisms.
5. Quotations from Alqur'a:n, Alħadi:th as well as classical poetry and prose are pronounced in accordance with everyday speech.

Group 1 and group 2 are social dialects, in contrast with the geographical dialects distinguished above. Further possible dialect classification is not pertinent here, and accordingly is not discussed.

0.2. SOURCES OF CORPUS

0.2.1. This study is based primarily upon the author's speech and that of his wife, both of whom belong to group 1 of southern saғi:di. My wife comes from the village of Alfukaliyyi, about eight miles north of my native village, Qizbet P̩ilbu:s̩a, which is about 330 miles south of Cairo. She belongs to a family where saғi:di is spoken and she spent her life up to the age of eighteen between Cairo and her native village.

Other saғi:di informants from groups 1 and 2 were contacted in the field through trips to various parts of Upper Egypt during the collection of the corpus.

0.3. SIZE OF CORPUS

0.3.1. The corpus was collected over a period extending from 1958 to 1965 from my own speech and that of my wife, as well as that of other saғi:di informants contacted in the field. It was collected by:

- a) Recordings of and notes on daily conversations and stories, as well as checking with my wife and other native informants on points where self-deception was suspected;
- (b) Exploring all mathematical possibilities of combinations of segmentals to expand the range of coverage of the corpus to the farthest possible limits.

1. THE PHONEMES OF saSi:di

1.1. SEGMENTALS

1.1.1. *Consonants*

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
<i>Stops</i>									
voiceless			t			k			
voiced	b		d			g		p	
<i>Affricates</i>									
voiceless						χ			
voiced					j				
<i>Fricatives</i>									
voiceless	f			s	š	x	χ		
voiced				z		g	g	h	
<i>Nasals</i>	m		n						
<i>Lateral</i>			l						
<i>Trill</i>				r					
<i>Semivowels</i>	w			y					

1.2.1. *Vowels*

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

1.2.2. *Co-vowels*

Length /:/; Emphasis /_/_

1.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS**1.3.1. *Juncture***

Terminal junctures /|/, /||/, /#/.

Internal juncture /+/.

1.3.2. *Stress*

Primary /'/; Non-primary /^/.

1.3.3. *Pitch*

/3/

/2/

/1/ lowest

2. SUPRASEGMENTALS

2.1. JUNCTURE

2.1.1. *Terminal junctures*

2.1.1.1. The segmental sequence /saŋado:/ can be spoken with any of the following pitch patterns:

- A. 1. The first syllable is spoken on a medium pitch which is maintained through the second syllable.
- 2. The third syllable is spoken on a higher pitch followed by a downglide to a lower pitch than that of the first two syllables, before silence. /²saŋadó:/, spoken in this manner, is a declarative statement: ‘they helped him’.
- B. 1. The first two syllables are spoken on the same pitch as in A1.
- 2. The higher pitch of the third syllable glides upward before silence. /²saŋadó:/, spoken in this manner, is a reiterated question: ‘did they help him?’

2.1.1.2. Comparing the two pitch patterns of /saŋado:/ described above we find:

- 1. The pitch on the third syllable in pattern A gradually moves downward and gradually fades.
- 2. The pitch on the third syllable in pattern B moves upward and abruptly stops.

The downturn and upturn of pitch described above form a contrast which will be symbolized: A /#/ , B /||/.

2.1.1.3. In the utterance:

/Padahu: galamak taŋa xudu/

- 1. /Pada/ may be spoken on medium pitch, /hu:/ on high pitch, and /-mak/ on medium pitch.
- 2. The medium level is maintained through /taŋa/.
- 3. Between the end of /galamak/ and the beginning of /taŋa/ there is a ritardando without tonal glide.
- 4. /xudu/ is spoken with high pitch on the first syllable and a gradual downglide of pitch on the second syllable before silence.

The ritardando without tonal glide described in 3 signals a third *səSi:di* juncture which will be symbolized by //.

2.1.1.4. Each of the three junctures appears to prolong the immediately preceding sound(s) in varying degrees. /#/ co-occurs with silence; // and // may or may not co-occur with silence.

2.1.2. Internal juncture

2.1.2.1. The following pairs of utterances are differentiated by contrast between "sharp" and "smooth" transition between the underlined segments:

<i>Sharp Transition</i>	<i>Smooth Transition</i>
-------------------------	--------------------------

Ia / ² <u>dár</u> ³ + <u>bey</u> ¹ #/	Ib / ² <u>dár</u> ³ <u>bey</u> ¹ #/
IIa / ² <u>xád</u> ³ + <u>šey</u> ¹ #/	IIb / ² <u>xád</u> ³ <u>šey</u> ¹ #/

Meanings:

Ia 'he harmed me'	Ib 'my street'
IIa 'he took something'	IIb 'he did not take'

2.1.2.2. Phonetic allophones of /+/ in *səSi:di*. Length of the syllable immediately before /+/, realized primarily in the consonants.

2.1.2.3. A minimal pair involving variant position of /+/ is:

/ ² mišabú:+na ³¹ já:/	'didn't his father speak gently to him?'
/ ² mišabú:na+ ³¹ já:/	'didn't our father come to him?'

2.2. DEFINITIONS

2.2.1. *Macrosegment* — a segment of speech between silence and a subsequent terminal juncture, or between two terminal junctures.

2.2.2. *Microsegment* — a segment of speech between two internal junctures, or a preceding internal juncture and a subsequent terminal juncture, or a terminal and a following internal juncture.

2.2.3. *Syllable* — the minimum syllable in *səSi:di* is CV, the maximum: CCVCC or CCV:C.

2.2.4. *Syllable boundaries* — (1) the occurrence of a juncture always indicates the beginning of a syllable; (2) in the absence of juncture syllable boundaries are pre-

dictable in terms of the constituent segmental phonemes of the microsegment in accordance with the following rules:

- (a) In a sequence of two consonants, either C₁C₂ or C₁C₁ not followed by a juncture, the syllable boundary falls between the two consonants.
- (b) In a sequence of three consonants not immediately followed by a juncture, the syllable boundary falls between the second and third consonants.
- (c) A sequence of two consonants immediately followed by a juncture goes with the preceding vowel.

2.3. STRESS

2.3.1. In the following two groups of items:

A	B
/Pájal/ ‘date’ or ‘end of life’	/Pajál/ ‘greater’
/sábát/ ‘basket’	/sabát/ ‘I kept still’

the first syllable in items A is more prominent than the second, whereas the second syllable in items B is more prominent. These and other minimal pairs in sáSi:di make it necessary to recognize a phoneme /' which may be referred to as ‘primary stress’.

2.3.2. The weaker grade of stress in items A and B above will be referred to as “non-primary stress” and symbolized by /^/.

2.3.2.1. I distinguish five phonetic degrees of stress in sáSi:di [! ^ ' ∅] macrosegmental primary, primary, secondary, tertiary and weak, in descending rank.

2.3.3. The primary stress has the following allophones:

[!] — maximum prominence, co-occurs with macrosegmental pitch-peak.

['] — marks syllables in the macrosegment which bear primary stress in citation forms.

2.3.4. The non-primary stress — unmarked in phonemic transcription in this study — has the following allophones:

[^] — maximum prominence of the non-primary stress, marks syllables of the structure CVCC, CCVC, CCVCC, unmarked by primary stress in bisyllabic and multisyllabic microsegments.

['] — marks post-junctural syllables of the structure CV, CVC, CCV and pre-junctural syllables of the structure CV, CVC in bisyllabic and multisyllabic microsegments.

[∅] — marks syllables of the structure CV, CVC, immediately before or after the syllable with the primary stress in multisyllabic microsegments, as well as the definite article /Pil-/ in post-junctural position.

2.3.5. The position of stress in the microsegment. With the exception of 49 minimal pairs in the corpus, stress in the microsegment falls on:

- (1) A long vowel (no microsegment has more than one long vowel); if none, then
 - (2) On the last VCC; if neither (1) nor (2) occurs, then
 - (3) On the first syllable.

Examples:

- (1) /xalagá:tu/ 'his clothes'
- (2) /masáktu/ 'I caught him'
- (3) /kátab/ 'he wrote'
 /kátabow/ 'they wrote'
 /kátabatu/ 'she wrote it (m.)'¹
 /lbáladu/ 'to his native town'

2.3.6. Geminates (within the microsegment) resulting from the assimilation of /l/ of the definite article /Pil-/ or /t/ of the verbal prefixes /tit-/, /Pit-/, /nit-/, /yit-/ to a following consonant do not affect position of stress in the microsegment to which /Pil-/ or any of the verbal prefixes mentioned above is added. Examples:

- /Pissámaki/ : (/Pilsamaki/) 'the fish'
 /Pissáḥabat/ : (/Pitsáḥabat/) 'it (f.) was drawn away'

2.4. PITCH

2.4.1. A səsi:di monosyllabic utterance such as /Pá:/ 'yes', can be spoken in several ways depending on the accompanying terminal juncture. If the accompanying terminal is /#/ , /Pá:/ can be spoken in a low register of voice with no particular impression of either medium or high pitch and with the down turn connected with /#/ . This

low pitch may be referred to as pitch /1/. When /Pá:#/ is spoken in this way, it expresses desire to hear more of what is said, or that what is heard is agreed to.

2.4.2. /Pá:/ may also be spoken on a noticeably high register of voice with either the

upturn connected with /||/: /Pá:||/, which is spoken usually as a question asking

repetition of an utterance, or the downturn connected with /#/ : /Pá:#/, which is an answer in the affirmative to a question. This high pitch may be referred to as pitch /3/.

2.4.3. /Pá:/ may be spoken on a pitch that is neither as low as /1/ nor as high as /3/.

This medium pitch may be referred to as pitch /2/: /Pá: | jí #/ 'Yes! he came'.

2.4.4. The three relative pitch levels will be referred to as:

high /3/ mid /2/ low /1/

¹ The following abbreviations will be used through this study: m. = masculine; f. = feminine; m.s. = masculine singular; f.s. = feminine singular; d. = dual; pl. = plural.

2.4.5. Within the limitation of three pitch phonemes, there are 27 theoretical possible sequences. But the pitch sequences that actually occur are given in the following table which also shows the tactical behavior of the pitch phonemes:

	Initial	Medial	Final
1	1	1	
	2	1	
	2	2	
	3	1	
	3	2	
	3	3	
2	2	2	
	3	1	
	3	2	
	3	3	
3	3	3	

2.4.6. Types of intonation contours. The sequences attested may be classified into general types:

- (1) Level intonation: /111/, /222/, /333/
- (2) Rising-sustaining intonation: /122/, /133/, /233/.
- (3) Rising-returning intonation: /121/, /131/, /232/.
- (4) Rising-falling intonation: /132/, /231/.

2.4.7. The domain of the intonation contour is the macrosegment. Within the macrosegment, every syllable, except the first and the last which may be spoken on two pitches, is spoken on a definite pitch.

2.4.8. Examples of the intonation contours:

Pattern

1. Level

1. / ¹zé:ni ¹#/ ‘good (f.)’ — resigned comment
2. / ²Pámar ||/ ‘did he order?’ — question expressing mild surprise.
3. / ³gattó: ³³||/ ‘did they rob him?’ — question expressing amazement

2. Rising-sustaining

1. / ¹fissiyá:²li² / ‘in the pocket?’ (yes/no question)
2. / ¹yasá:³ter³ / ‘form expressing hope (for safety)
3. / ²našafáthí³³ / ‘did she dry it (f.)?’ (echo question)

3. Rising-returning

1. / ¹hayíwsá² rád¹ #/ ‘an answer will come’
2. / ¹?ittá:men jí¹ #/ ‘the eighth has arrived’ (emphatic statement)
3. / ²wé:n³² #/ ‘where?’
4. / ¹yá sá:³mey² #/ ‘Samey!’ — vocative

4. Rising-falling

1. / ²?illáma ³júwwa¹ #/ ‘the crowd is inside’
2. / ²?iṣmílha kdí¹ #/ ‘do (m.s.) it (f.) this way!’ (mild command)
3. / Iwád makatábsey³¹ #/ ‘the boy did not write’

2.4.9. Expanded pitch sequences. Only two pitch sequences occur in expanded forms: /231/ may be expanded into /1231/, /132/ into /1321/.

Conditioning factors:

1. In /1231/, the occurrence of an initial syllable marked by [˘] (e.g., [¹?iṣṣilá:²nlxádrà #/ ‘the green scarfs’]).
2. In /1321/ and /1231/, length of the utterance and number of intervening syllables.

- / ¹mašaggá:³la nágalu talalís: lgálla hní¹ #/
‘it was the workers who moved the grain sacks here’
- / ¹maká:nu ²jabadó:ha labárra³¹ #/
‘they must have pushed it (f.) outside’

3. THE səfi:di VOCALIC SYSTEM

3.1.

3.1.1. The səfi:di vocalic system comprises 20 minimally contrastive vocalic nuclei: 5 short non-emphatic, 5 short emphatic, 5 long non-emphatic, and 5 long emphatic.

3.1.2. There are several phonemic interpretations possible:

- (1) To set up 20 vowel phonemes.
- (2) To set up 5 short non-emphatic, 5 short emphatic vowel phonemes and a phoneme of length.
- (3) To set up 5 short non-emphatic vowel phonemes, a phoneme of length and a phoneme of emphasis.

3.1.3. The uneconomical nature of solutions (1) and (2) is obvious. Solution (2) assumes that the vowel is either emphatic or non-emphatic, thus bypassing the problems of classification and simultaneity or succession of emphasis. The writer's preference is for solution (3).

Solution (3) sets up 7 phonemes [for 20 in (1) and 12 in (2)]. Length will be classified as a co-vowel occurring sequentially only in post-vocalic position /:/, emphasis as a co-vowel occurring simultaneously with syllabic nucleus /_/.

3.1.4. The following diacritical marks, used throughout this study, will be used in describing the allophones of vowel phonemes:

V	= any vowel
ᵬ	= unusually short
V:	= vowel occurring before length
ᵬ	= vowel co-occurring with emphasis
ᵬ:	= vowel occurring before length and co-occurring with emphasis
V̄	= tense
V̄	= lax
V<	= fronted
V>	= backed

V^{\wedge}	= raised
V^{\vee}	= lowered
\tilde{V}	= nasalized
\underline{V}	= unstressed vowel ($V:$ is always stressed)
$\underline{Y} - \underline{-}$	= pre-stress syllable
$- \underline{-} \underline{Y} -$	= post-stress syllable
C	= any consonant
S	= any stop other than velar
S	= velar stop
F	= any labial or alveolar fricative
F	= any fricative other than F
N	= nasal
R	= resonant
#	= juncture (+ = internal juncture)
(+)	= syllable boundary
&	= in free variation with
~	= or

For convenience, the terms “short vowel”, “long vowel”, “short emphatic vowel”, “long emphatic vowel”, will be used for V , $V:$, \underline{V} , $\underline{V}:$.

3.2. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

3.2.1. The co-vowel of length has an extra long allophone [ː] in the environment $V:\#$ (e.g., [sóː] ‘a game of sticks’, shorter allophone [·] in the environments $V:+$ (e.g., [já·+xámsi] ‘he got five’ and $V:C(+)$ (e.g., [xá·ltu] ‘his aunt’, [:] elsewhere.

3.2.2. The co-vowel of emphasis has different allophones with different vowels (see 5.1 below).

3.2.3. Emphasis spreads allophonically within, as well as across, syllable boundaries in accordance with a fixed set of rules (see 5.6.1).

3.2.4. All vowels have allophones of the type \underline{V} when they occur before /:/ and/or with /_/, $V^<$ after front consonants and $V^>$ after back consonants, of the type \tilde{V} in the environment $\tilde{N}\tilde{V}N$, \tilde{V} in the environments $- \underline{-} - \underline{V} +$, $- \underline{-} - \underline{V} \#$, $\underline{V}(+) \underline{-} -$, and V^v (except /a/) with low pitch. /a/ has an allophone of the type $V^<$ with high pitch.

3.2.5. Specific allophones of $səsi:di$ vowels. The following are the specific allophones of short and long $səsi:di$ vowels:

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
<i>/i/</i>	[i̥]	YC+	/šúglit+dí/ ‘this (m.) one’s property’
		YCC(+)- $\underline{\text{L}}$	/birktákšey/ ‘not your (m.s.) pond’
	[I̥^]	V: $\#$	/bí:/ ‘with him/it (m.)’
		FVF(+)	/fizzey/ ‘get up! (f.s.)’
		FYCC(+)- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -	/Sillté:n/ ‘two problems’
		FV:N(+)	/hí:nni/ ‘our end’
		NV:N $\#$	/mí:n/ ‘who?’
	[i̥] }	elsewhere	
	[I̥:] }	elsewhere	
<i>/e/</i>	[ě̥]	Y(C)(+)- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -	/jebé:n/ ‘two pockets’
		/melté:n/	‘two bows’
	[e̥^]	- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -YC $\#$	/wé:nek/ ‘where are you (f.s.)?’
		FVF	/séf/ ‘swallow (m.s.)!’
		SYC	/kéd/ ‘work (m.s.) hard!’
		CV:(C)(+)	/zé:tu/ ‘his oil’
		/zé:tni/	‘our oil’
		V:C $\#$	/badé:t/ ‘I started’
	[e̥] }	elsewhere	
	[E̥:] }	elsewhere	
<i>/a/</i>	[Ḁ^]	V: $\#$	/já:/ ‘he came to him’
	[ḁ]	CVC(+)	/nátši/ ‘a lie’
		SVS $\#$	/bát/ ‘he cut’
		FYC(+)- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -	/gallámt/ ‘I taught’
		RVN $\#$	/nám/ ‘he betrayed’
		RVF $\#$	/náx/ ‘he bent down’
	[ḁ^] }	elsewhere	
	[Ḁ:] }	elsewhere	
<i>/u/</i>	[ü̥]	Y(C)(+)	/šúfey/ ‘look (f.s.)!’
		/šúftu/	‘I saw him/it (m.)!’
	[Ü̥^]	Y- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -	/kulú:/ ‘eat (pl.) it (m.)!’
		$\underline{\text{L}}$ - $\underline{\text{V}}$	/dalí:lu/ ‘his proof’
		V: $\#$	/gítú:/ ‘save (pl.) him’
		FVF(+)- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -	/huzná:/ ‘we kept it (m.)’
		FVF(+)- $\underline{\text{L}}$ --	/susná:/ ‘we appeased him’
	[u̥] }	elsewhere	
	[u̥^:] }	elsewhere	
<i>/o/</i>	[Ω̥]	V: $\#$	/só:/ ‘a game of sticks’
		YCC $\#$	/tóbt/ ‘I abstained’
	[Ω̥]	- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -(+)SYC	/túgol/ ‘weight’
		SY- $\underline{\text{L}}$ -	/komé:n/ ‘two heaps’
		FY- $\underline{\text{L}}$ --	/hošé:n/ ‘two courtyards’

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
[ə̂]		RV:C#	/lə:n/
[ô]			'color'
[ə̂:]		elsewhere	

4. CONSONANTS

4.1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS¹

4.1.1. All consonants have fortis allophones in post-junctural position before stressed vowels.

4.1.2. All consonants have lenis allophones in the environments V:C#, VC-#.

4.1.3. Stops, voiceless and voiced, are released prejuncturally after stressed vowels, released or unreleased in the environment VC#.

4.1.4. Before front vowels: (1) /č ſ š y/ have pre-palatal allophones; (2) /k g/ have post-palatal allophones.

4.1.5. Before back vowels: (1) /t d n l/ have post-dental allophones; (2) /s z r/ have post-alveolar allophones.

4.1.6. Stops and fricatives are aspirated or unaspirated, in free variation, in post-junctural position before stressed vowels. Fricatives and resonants have the allophone C in the environments V:C#, VC#.

4.1.7. *Stops*

- (1) Have allophones of the type Č in the environment VC-#.
- (2) Voiced stops have the allophones C & Č before voiceless consonants.
- (3) Voiceless stops have the allophones C & Č before voiced stops.

4.1.8. *Affricates*. /ʃ/ has the allophone Č before voiceless stops, C & Č before voiceless fricatives.

4.1.9. *Fricatives*

- (1) have the allophone C in the environment VC-#.

¹ The same symbols used in the description of vowels are used with the addition of the following:
—: indicates position in a cluster; C: extra short; Č: long; Č: voiced; C: voiceless.

(2) Voiceless fricatives have the allophones Ç & Ç before voiced stops and voiced fricatives.

(3) Voiced fricatives have the allophone Ç before voiceless stops and voiceless fricatives.

4.1.2.0. *Resonants*. /m n l r/ have the allophone Ç in the environment VÇ-#.

4.2.

The following are specific allophonic distributions not covered by the above observations:

- (1) /m/ has the labiodental allophone [m] before /f/ (e.g., /mfátteš/ ‘inspector’).
- (2) /n/ has the velar allophone [ŋ] before /k g x g/ (e.g., /yúngol/ ‘he copies’, /yúnxol/ ‘he sifts (powder)’).
- (3) /w/ has the allophone [u] in post-junctural preconsonantal position (e.g., /wká:li/ ‘inn’).

5. EMPHASIS

5.1. ARTICULATORY CORRELATES

- (1) *With vowels* — pharyngeal striction and:
 - (a) Front and back vowels: lowering of the tongue.
 - (b) Front vowels: retraction of the tongue.
 - (c) Back vowels: protraction of the tongue.
 - (d) /a/: wider lip orifice.
- (2) *With consonants* — pharyngeal striction and:
 - (a) Dentals, alveolars: velarization.
 - (b) Dentals: denti-alveolar point of articulation.
 - (c) /t/: glottalization (the allophone [t]).
 - (d) Palatals, velars, uvulars, pharyngeals: broadening of the tongue at closure point.

5.2. POSSIBLE PHONEMIC INTERPRETATIONS

- (1) Doubling the number of consonant phonemes: 23 non-emphatic + 23 emphatic.
- (2) Doubling the number of vowels: 5 non-emphatic + 5 emphatic.
- (3) 23 non-emphatic consonant phonemes + 4 emphatic consonant phonemes /t d s z/ + 1 emphatic vowel /a/.
- (4) Emphasis as a prosodeme or a long component: E-----/ or /____/.
- (5) Positing a phoneme of emphasis simultaneous with consonants.
- (6) Positing a phoneme of emphasis simultaneous with vowels.

Interpretations 1, 2 and 3 are obviously uneconomic. “Prosodeme” is a vague term, and to treat emphasis as a phonemic long component involves difficulty in setting up rules to define its domain. Interpretations 5 and 6 are equally economical, but such structural facts as emphatic vowel harmony in *səʃi:di* weigh in favor of 6.

5.3. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF *səʃi:di* VOWELS

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
/i/	[i]	YRC(+)	/tʃrtly/ ‘you (m.s.) soak it (m.) with water’

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>	
	[í ^v]	- ɿ - V #	/sírfi/	'altogether (f.s.)'
		V(C)(+)- ɿ -	/siwá:n/	'pavilion'
	[í ^v]	V:#	/Páradí:/	'his lands'
		V:R(+)	/sí:rtu/	'his small fish'
		FV(F(+)- ɿ -	/gízná:/	'we angered him'
	[í ^v] {			
	[í ^v :] }	elsewhere		
/e/	[E ^{>}]	Ý#	/té/	'indeed'
	[E ^{>}]	ÝC#	/téb/	'medicine'
	[E ^{>} _v]	V:#/	/sárré:/	'what did he pack?'
		FÝ:C(+)	/gé:thom/	'their field'
	[ə ^v]	V(+)- ɿ -	/teré:n/	'two birds'
	[E ^{>}]			
	[E ^{>:}] {	elsewhere		
/a/	[a]	FV:#	/saɬhá:/	'he waked him'
		FV:C(+)	/xá:ffa/	'healing (f.s.)'
	[A]	- ɿ - V F #	/bátañ/	'he hurt the head'
		FV(+)- ɿ -	/ħasárt/	'I counted'
		FÝS#	/xát/	'line'
		SÝF#	/táx/	'he fired'
	[a] {			
	[a ^{<:}] }	elsewhere		
/u/	[ú _{<}]	Ý+	/rúbbu+zé:n/	'mix it (m.) well!'
		ÝCC(+)	/rúbbly/	'mix (m.s.) for him!'
		RÝF(+)	/lúsna/	'we got confused'
	[U _{<}]	V:#	/xattiqú:	'line (pl.) it (m.)!'
		RV:(+)	/ru:su/	'his sheep'
	[U _{<}]	FÝF(+)	/zúgní/	'we disappeared'
	[U ^{>}] {			
	[U ^{>:}] }	elsewhere		
/o/	[ɔ ^{<}]	RÝC#	/mó:t/	'stretch (m.s.)!'
	[ɔ ^{<}]	FÝC#	/xót/	'neighbourhood'
		FV(+)- ɿ -	/ħodé:n/	'two basins'
		ɿ -(+)SÝC#	/xúdor/	'green' (pl.)
	[ø ^{<}] & [ɒ ^{<}]	FV:#	/baggó:/	'they tricked him'
		NV:F(+)	/nó:ħħa/	'her mourning'
	[ø ^{<}] {			
	[ø ^{<:}] }	elsewhere		

5.4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF *səsi:di* CONSONANTS

səsi:di consonants have emphatic allophones in the following environments (V = any emphatic vowel):

- CV, V_C (e.g., [sář] 'he packed', /sár/)
- CV, C-V (e.g., [brób] 'perhaps', /brób/)
- V_C-, V-C (e.g., [dár_b] 'path', /dár_b/)

5.5. EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF /t/

The *səsi:di* phoneme /t/ has two emphatic allophones which require special treatment:

- [t̪] denti-alveolar
- [t̪̥] denti-alveolar, glottalized

[t̪] and [t̪̥] are in complementary distribution in the following environments: ([s],[z]): emphatic allophones of /s/ and /z/):

<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
[t̪]	-sV	[tsá:b] 'he was hurt', /tsá:b/
	-zV	[tzám] 'it (m.) was tightened', /tzám/
	Vz-#	[gézt] 'I annoyed', /gézt/
	Vz(+)-	[búztow] 'you (pl.) became spoiled' /búztow/
[t̪̥]	t̪̥(C) #	[tá] 'O.K.', /tá/
	V-(+)s	[sátsu] 'his coughing', /sátsu/
	V-(+)z	[rátzu] 'his trotting' /rátzu/
	V-z#	[rátz] 'trotting', /rátz/

On the basis of the over-all distribution of [t̪] and [t̪̥] in my corpus, the following observations may be made:

- (1) [t̪] and [t̪̥] are partially in complementary distribution.
 - (2) Wherever [t̪] occurs — even in the environments mentioned above — it can be replaced by [t̪̥] without the least distortion of speech.
 - (3) A *səsi:di* speaker uses [t̪] in all environments in certain social circumstances (e.g., speaking to Lower Egyptians). If in the same circumstances he uses [t̪̥] it will be with the purpose of showing that he is *səsi:di*.
- [t̪̥] then is a stylistic allophone of /t/.

5.6. THE DOMAIN OF EMPHASIS

Emphasis has two distinct domains of spread: domain 1: the syllable; domain 2: the morphological word (stem + maximum number of bound forms).

5.6.1. Rules for the spreading of emphasis within the syllable:

- (1) Consonants occurring post-juncturally or medially in syllables with emphatic nuclei have emphatic allophones.
- (2) Consonants occurring post-vocallyically (or in position 2 in a final cluster) before a major juncture, in syllables with emphatic nuclei, have emphatic, partially or completely de-emphasized allophones, in free variation.

5.6.2. Emphasis across syllabic boundary

(1) At the loss of internal juncture in the environment VC+CV, if the resulting cluster is of the type -C₁C₁- (i.e., a geminate), it includes an emphatic coda followed by a partially emphatic onset (e.g., [gəd+dɪ] > [gəddɪ], /gəddɪ/ 'he cut this (m.)'. If the resulting cluster is of the type -C₁C₂-, both coda and onset are non-emphatic (e.g., [ra:s+dɪ:k] > [rasdi:k], /rasdi:k/ 'that (f.) one's head'—

(2) At the loss of internal juncture in the environment VC+CV, if the resulting cluster is a geminate, both coda and onset are emphatic (e.g., [xad+darba] [xaddarba], /xaddárba/ 'he took a blow'. If the resulting cluster is of the type -C₁C₂-, the coda is emphatic [xamas+rū:s], [xamasrū:s], /xamasrū:s/ 'five heads'—

5.7. STYLISTIC DE-EMPHASIS

(1) Pre-junctural consonants may be stylistically de-emphasized (e.g., [m̩dá:d], /mdá:d/ 'opposing' (m.s.).

(2) Qur'anic and literary quotations, as well as certain classicisms, used in səfi:di, are articulated, insofar as emphasis is concerned, with various degrees of conformity with a set of pertinent rules in the studies of classical Arab grammarians. Example:

‘waláw Pánṣafa lhussá:du yáwman’
 /waláw Pánṣafa lhussá:du yáwman/
 ‘If only the envious were fair one day...’
 (from a line of verse by Palbuhturi, 204-284 Hijri)
 Classical /Pánṣaf/ = səfi:di /Pánsaf/ ‘he was fair’.

5.8. EMPHATIC VOWEL HARMONY

Emphatic vowel harmony is the phenomenon of spreading of emphasis within the morphological word according to the following rules.

(1) Segmental morphemes prefixed to noun stems (e.g., /pil-/), adjective stems (e.g., /pa-/), and verb stems (e.g., /yu-/), select emphatic allomorphs when prefixed to emphatic or partially emphatic stems.¹ Examples:

¹ “Emphatic stem” = stem with emphasis co-occurring with its vowel nucleus or nuclei; “partially emphatic stem” = stem with initial syllable having emphatic vowel nucleus.

/Píssáⱼara/ ‘the tree’
/Pásgar/ ‘smaller’
/yúxbot/ ‘hits (3.m.s.)’

(2) Segmental morphemes suffixed to noun stems (e.g., /-a/ allomorph of the feminine morpheme), adjective stems (e.g., /-i:n/ plural morpheme), and verb stems (e.g., /-hom/ 3.pl. non-subject pronoun), select emphatic allomorphs when suffixed to emphatic stems. Examples:

/xádra/ ‘green (f.s.)’
/ħírsí:n/ ‘cautious (pl.)’
/ħaráshom/ ‘he guarded them’

(3) Exceptions to rules of spreading of emphatic vowel harmony are stylistically conditioned, for they are conscious attempts to conform to Classical Arabic pronunciation.

6. PHONOTACTICS

6.1. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH VOWELS

səsi:di vowels: (1) do not cluster with themselves; (2) occur as syllabic nuclei with or without /:/ and/or /_/.

6.2. LIMITATIONS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

(1) /i i u ɯ/ do not occur in monosyllabic microsegments (with the exception of the negative particle (/míš/)).

(2) In microsegments of the structure CV, /i/ occurs in three items: /bí/ form used to call a girl, /dí/ 'this' (m.s.), /jí/ 'he came'.

/e/ occurs in one item: /té/ 'indeed'.

/a/ in one item: /lá/ 'No!'

/ə/ in four items: /bá/ a form expressing wonder, /xá/ 'take (2.m.s.)', /wá/ form expressing disagreement, /tá/ 'O.K.'

/u/ in one item: /šú/ 'look' (2.m.s.).

(3) Only /i i ə u ɯ/ occur in the environment – –CV#. Examples:

/hábli/ 'foolish (f.s.)'

/básali/ 'onion'

/kásra/ 'robbery'

/háblu/ 'his rope'

/gárasu/ 'he pinched him'

(4) Vowels with /:/ and /-/ do not occur in microsegments of the structure CV. Vowels with /:/ or with /:/ and /-/ do not occur in microsegments of the structure CVCC, CCVCC or in the environment --- VCC(+)C-.

6.3. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH CONSONANTS

(1) In post-junctural syllables, vowels occur preceded by a minimum of one and a maximum of two consonants.

- (2) In medial syllables, vowels occur preceded by one consonant.
- (3) In medial and pre-junctural syllables, vowels occur followed by two, one or no consonant.
- (4) Syllables with long vowels as their nuclei are closed by single consonants.
- (5) The following syllable types accordingly occur: CV CVC CCV CCVC CCVCC CV: CCV: CV:C CCV:C.
- (6) Syllables with long vowels (emphatic or non-emphatic) as their nuclei are always stressed. Syllables with short vowels (emphatic or non-emphatic) as their nuclei occur stressed or unstressed.
- (7) Syllables beginning with clusters of two consonants occur only initially in a microsegment.
- (8) Long vowels occur before and/or after geminates, short vowels occur stressed or unstressed medially before and/or after geminates in the microsegment (in which geminates occur only medially).
- (9) Any consonant may occur before or after any long vowel. /P/ occurs in the environment CV:# in two items: /Pá:/ 'Yes!', /Pé:/ 'what'. /č/ occurs initially in the environment CV:C# in one item, /čé:š/ 'clumsy' (m.s.). /P/ and /č/ do not occur in the environment V:C#.
- (10) Any consonant may occur before or after any short vowel, stressed or unstressed. In the environment VC# /P/ does not occur, /č/ occurs in one item /háč/ 'lying'.

6.4. DISTRIBUTION OF /w/ AND /y/, IN TERMS OF OCCURRENCE WITH STRESSED VOWELS, PRE-STRESS VOWELS, AND POST-STRESS VOWELS

- (1) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with stressed vowels:
 - (a) in the environment VC#

/w/ and /y/ occur after /e a a: ə/,
 /w/ after /ə:/, /y/ after /o: e/;
 - (b) in the environment VC(+)

/w/ and /y/ occur after /i a a: i ə ə:/
 /w/ after /u/;
 - (c) in the environment V(+)C

/w/ and /y/ occur after /i a: ə:/,
 /w/ after /a i: ə/;
 - (d) in the environment CV (post-juncturally):

/w/ and /y/ occur before /i a a: i ə u/,
 /w/ before /e: i: ə:/, /y/ before /u o: u:/.
- (2) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with pre-stress vowels:
 - (a) in the environment VC(+) - - -

/w/ and /y/ occur after /i a i a/;
 - (b) in the environment V(+)C - - -

/w/ and /y/ occur after /a i ə/;

- (c) in the environment CV- - (post-juncturally)
 /w/ and /y/ occur before /i a u ə/,
 /w/ before /e i ɛ/, /y/ before /u/.
- (3) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with post-stress vowels:
 /w/: occurs pre-juncturally after /o ɔ/, and in the sequences (emphatic or non-emphatic):
 /-wa/ /-wu/
 /-wek/ /-wey/ /-wak/
- /y/: occurs pre-juncturally after /e ɛ/, and in the sequences (emphatic or non-emphatic):
 /-yi/ /-yu/
 /-yek/ /-yey/ /-yak/

6.5. səSi:di CONSONANT CLUSTERS

- (1) səSi:di consonants cluster initially in post-junctural, pre-vocalic position, medially in inter-vocalic position, finally in post-vocalic pre-junctural position.
- (2) Initial and final clusters have a maximum membership of two consonants.
 Medial clusters consist maximally of three consonants.
- (3) Patterns of consonant clusters:

initial: C₁C₂-
 medial: -C₁C₁-, -C₁C₂-, -C₁C₁C₂-, C₁C₂C₃
 final: -C₁C₂.

6.6. GEMINATES

- (1) səSi:di consonants geminate intervocally
 (a) before and after long vowels as well as stressed or unstressed short vowels.
 Examples:
 /naggá:hi/ 'he selected it (f.)',
 /lá:fi/ 'curving (f.)';
 /nájʃat/ 'she talked much',
 /naʃʃálhi/ 'he robbed her'.

- (b) after stressed or unstressed short vowels, in the environment -C₁C₁(+)C₂-.
 Examples:
 /ħásslú/ 'catch (m.s.) him!'
 /ħásslú:hóm/ 'catch (pl.) them!'

TABLE I
Initial Consonant Clusters: C₁C₂

C ₂	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	h	b	d	g	z	j	g'	q'	m	n	l	r	w	y
t	tk	tp	tf	ts	ts	tx	th	th	tb	kd	tg	tz	đ	đ	đ	đ	tm	tn	tl	tr	tw	ty	
k	kt	kf	kp	sf	fs	fx	fh	fh	fb	fd	fg	fz	đ	đ	đ	đ	km	kn	kl	kr	kw	ky	
p						sx	sh	sh	sb	sd	sg	sz	đ	đ	đ	đ	sm	sn	sl	sr	sw	sy	
f									sb	sd	sg	sz					đm	đn	đr	đw	đy		
s																	đm	đn	đr	đw	đy		
š																	gm	gn	gl	gr	gw	gy	
č																	zm	žm	zl	zr	zw		
x																	đm	đn	bl	br	bw	by	
h																	dm	dn	dr	dw	dy		
h	ht	hk	hf	hs					hb	hd	hg	hz	đj	đj	đj	đj	hm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hm	
b	bt	bk	bf	bs	bs	bx	bh	bh	bd	bg	bz	bj	bđ	bđ	bđ	bđ	bm	bn	bl	br	bw	by	
d		dk	df	ds	gs				db	gb	gd						gm	gn	gl	gr	gw	gy	
g	gt		gf	gs	zf	js	đh	đh	zb		zg						zm	žm	jl	jr			
z			gf	gs	qf	qf											đm	đn	ql	qr			
đ																	đm	đn	gl	gr	gw	gy	
ć																	đm	đn	jl	jr			
m	mt	mk	m?	mf	ms	mx	mh	mh	mb	nd	mg	nz	mđ	mđ	mđ	mđ	mn	ml	mr	mw	my		
n	nt	nk	np	nf	ns	nx	nh	nh	nb	nd	ng	nđ	nđ	nđ	nđ	nđ	nm	nl	nr	nw	ny		
l	lt	lk	lp	lf	ls	lx	lh	lh	lb	ld	lg	lz	đj	đj	đj	đj	lm	ln	lr	lw	ly		
r	rt	rk	rf	rs	rh	rw	wh	wh	rb	rd	rg	rz	đj	đj	đj	đj	rn	rn	rn	rn	ry		
w	wt	wk	wp	ws	ws	wx	yh	yh	wb	wd	wg	wz	wđ	wđ	wđ	wđ	wn	wn	wl	wr	wy		
y	yt	yk	yp	yf	ys	yx	yh	yh	yd	yg	yz	đj	đj	đj	đj	đj	ym	yn	yl	yr	yw		

TABLE II
Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂- (Geminates are included)

C ₂		C ₁		t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	h	b	d	g	z	j	g'	č'	š'	m	n	l	r	w	y
t		tt		tf	ts	ts	ks	ks	ks	čt	x	h	th	tb	tg	tz	ts	ks	ks	čn	tm	tn	tl	tr	tw	ty	
k		kt		kk	kk	kk	ks	ks	ks	čk	x	h	kh	kb	sd	sd	sf	fg	fg	šj	sm	km	kn	kl	kr	ky	
p		ft		ff	fs	fs	fx	fx	fx	čt	x	h	sh	sb	sd	sd	sf	fg	fg	šj	sm	fn	fn	fl	fr	fy	
f		st		sf	ss	ss	sx	sx	sx	čt	x	h	sh	sh	sd	sd	sf	fg	fg	šj	sm	sn	sl	sr	sw	sy	
s		št		čt	čn	čn	čl	čr	čw	čy																	
š		xt		xf	hf	hs	hs	xx	hh	hh	hh	hh	xb	xđ	xz	hj	xm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hr	hw	hy	
č		h		ht	hk	hf	hf	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hb	hd	hg	hz	hj	hm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hr	hw	hy	
x		h		bt	bk	bs	bš	bx	bš	bx	bš	bš	bb	bd	bg	bz	bj	bg	bs	df	dm	bn	bl	br	dy		
d		d		bt	df	gs	gs	dx	ds	dx	df	df	db	dd	dg	dz	bj	bg	bs	df	dm	dl	dr	gl	gr	gw	
g		g		gt	gf	gs	gs	z	z	z	z	z	gb	gd	gg	gz	zb	zb	zg	zg	zg	zm	zn	zl	jr	zw	
z		z		zt	zf	js	js	z	z	z	z	z	jh	jb	gg	gz	jj	jj	gg	gg	gg	jm	jn	jl	jr	jw	
j		j		jt	jt	js	js	z	z	z	z	z	qh	qd	qg	qg	qj	qg	qg	qm	qm	qm	ql	ql	ql	qy	
g'		g'		q	q	qf	qf	q	q	q	q	q	mb	md	mg	mg	mb	mb	mg	mg	mm	mm	ml	mr	mw	my	
q		q		mt	mk	ms	ms	nx	nh	nx	ns	ns	nb	nd	ng	nz	nj	ng	ns	ng	nn	nn	nn	nn	nw	ny	
m		n		nt	nk	nf	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	lb	ld	lg	lz	lj	lg	ls	lg	lm	ln	ll	lr	lw	ly	
n		l		lt	lk	lf	ls	lx	lh	lx	ls	lx	rb	rd	rg	rz	lj	rg	rg	rl	rm	rn	rl	rr	rw	ry	
l		r		rt	rk	rf	rs	rx	rh	rs	rs	rs	wh	wy													
r		w		wt	yk	yt	yh	yd	yg	yz	yt	yg	yt	yt	ym	ym	yl	yr	yw	yy							

TABLE III
Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₁C₂-

C ₂		t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	h	b	d	g	z	j	g'	č'	q	m	n	l	r	w	y
C ₁ C ₁		tt	kk	pp	ff	ss	šš	čč	xx	hh	hh	bb	dd	gg	zz	jj	jj	jj	jj	mm	nn	rr	rr	ww	yy
tt	ttf	tts	ttš	ttk	ttf	ttš	ttč	txx	hhh	hhh	bbx	bbf	bbh	ddh	ggb	ggb	ggb	ggb	mmf	nnf	rrf	rrf	wwf	yf	
kk	kkf	kkf	ffš	ffš	ffš	ffš	ffš	ffx	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
ff	fft	fft	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	xxt	hhf	hhf	bbš	bbš	bbš	bbš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
ss	sst	sst	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	xxt	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
šš	ššt	ššt	ššf	ššf	ššf	ššf	ššf	xxt	hhf	hhf	bbš	bbš	bbš	bbš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
čč	ččt	ččt	ččf	ččf	ččf	ččf	ččf	xxt	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
xx	xxt	xxt	xxf	xxf	xxf	xxf	xxf	xxd	hhf	hhf	bbš	bbš	bbš	bbš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
hh	hhf	bbš	bbš	bbš	bbš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš										
bb	bbt	bbt	bbf	bbf	bbf	bbf	bbf	bbf	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
dd	ddt	ddt	ddf	ddf	ddf	ddf	ddf	ddx	hhf	hhf	bbš	bbš	bbš	bbš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
gg	ggf	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš								
zz	zzt	zzt	zzf	zzf	zzf	zzf	zzf	zzx	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
jj	jjt	jjt	jjf	jjf	jjf	jjf	jjf	jjx	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
ggf	ggf	ggf	ggf	ggf	ggf	ggf	ggf	ggf	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
qq	qqt	qqt	qqf	qqf	qqf	qqf	qqf	qqx	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	nnš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	mmš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	mmš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	mmš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
rr	rr	rr	rr	rr	rr	rr	rr	rr	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	mmš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
ww	ww	ww	ww	ww	ww	ww	ww	ww	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	mmš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	
yy	yy	yy	yy	yy	yy	yy	yy	yy	hhf	hhf	ddš	ddš	ddš	ddš	ggš	ggš	ggš	ggš	mmš	mmš	rrš	rrš	wwš	yš	

TABLE IV
Final Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂

6.7. ATTESTED CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN *səSi:di*

Tables I, II, III, and IV indicate all attested consonant clusters in *səSi:di*.

Medial clusters of the pattern -C₁C₂C₃-

/tfk tfh tfl tsh tšk tzk ktm ktl ksr ftl fsh fsl fšt fšl/
/fzr fžx stl sgr štm škl xtm šsr ššr htk hdr hjr hml/
/btl bdr gsm zkr gšl ſkm ſsr ſdk ſdh ſgl msk mňh mdg ntr nsl/
/nšr nxl ndk ndh ndr ngl nzr ltx lkm lfz lbd ldm lgf lgm wsl wgf wzn/
/rtl rkt rkz rfs rbt rdh rdm rgt rgl rg̤l rmh/

7. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION

7.1. TYPES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION IN *səSi:di*

- 1) Phonologically conditioned alternation:
 - (a) alternation of vowels,
 - (b) epenthesis,
 - (c) elision,
 - (d) assimilation of consonants,
 - (e) emphatic vowel harmony (treated under “Emphasis”).
- (2) Morphologically conditioned alternation: Stem variation (treated under “Morphemics”).

7.2.

Shifts of stress occur in accordance with the rules mentioned in 2.3.5. above.

7.3. ALTERNATION OF VOWELS

(RULES GOVERN EMPHATIC AND NON-EMPHATIC VOWELS)

(1) Quantitative:

Shortening of long vowels. A long vowel in the microsegment alternates with the corresponding short vowel when the microsegment is followed in close transition by a sequence including a long vowel or -VCC, where -V is other than the long vowel in the microsegment:

1. a. /gé:t/ ‘field’ /geté:n/ ‘two fields’
b. /Slá:wa/ ‘jar’ /Slawté:n/ ‘two jars’
c. /fá:t/ ‘he passed by’ /fató:/ ‘they left him’
2. a. /getíkšey/ ‘not your (f.s.) field’ but /gé:thom/ ‘their field’
b. /Slawithi/ ‘her jar’ /Slá:wtek/ ‘your (f.s.) jar’
c. /fatáthom/ ‘she left them’ /fá:thi/ ‘he left her’

(2) Qualitative:

- (a) In monosyllabic microsegments /e/ alternates with /i/, /o/ with /u/ when the

microsegment is followed in close transition by any sequence. Examples:

/bét/ ‘girl’	/bíttu/ ‘his daughter’
/gérð/ ‘monkey’	/gírdé:n/ ‘two monkeys’
/xón/ ‘corner’	/xúnnak/ ‘your (m.s.) corner’

(b) In microsegments stressed on the penult and ending with /i/, /i/ alternates with /a:/ when followed in close transition by a sequence of the structure C~CV(C). /i/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /a/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost.

Examples:

/ſalámni/	‘our flag’
/ſalamná:šey/	‘not our flag’
/šayyáñni/	‘we sent’
/šayyañna:hi/	‘we sent her’
/šayyañna:hom/	‘we sent them’
/bírki/	‘pond’, /birká zá:ta/ ‘a dirty pond’

(c) The sequence /ey/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /i/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost. Examples:

/sá:ley/	‘always’
/sá:li+gá:yeš/	‘always wandering (m.s.)’
/ktá:bey/	‘my book’
/ktá:bi+zé:n/	‘my book is good’

(d) The sequence /ow/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /u/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost. Examples:

/zállagow/	‘they trapped’
/zállagu+lhará:mey/	‘they trapped the thief’

7.4. EPENTHESIS

When /+/ is lost in the environment -C₁C₂ + C₁C₂- an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the two clusters. The epenthetic vowel is /i/, always unstressed. Examples:

/tabáñt+klá:bu/	‘I drove away his dogs’
/tabáñtiklá:bu/	

7.5. ELISION

In a sequence ending with /-V:CeC/, /e/ is elided when the sequence comes in close transition with another sequence beginning with V-~V:-. Examples:

/ſá:mel/	‘worker’
/ſá:mlu/	‘his worker’
/ſamlé:n/	‘two worker’s

7.6. ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS

(1) Progressive assimilation is rare in *səʃi:di*. It occurs in the environment $VC_1 + C_1V$, when, at the loss of $/+/$ the resulting geminate includes an emphatic coda and a partially emphatic onset.

(2) Regressive assimilation is the more common type. Regressive assimilation involved in the processes of suffixation and prefixation within the microsegment is treated under Morphemics.

(3) Regressive assimilation in *səʃi:di* occurs across $/+/$ in the environment $CC_2 + CV$ where the second member of the pre-junctural cluster is assimilated to the postjunctural pre-vocalic consonant. Table V represents possible assimilations in this environment. C_1 (columns) represents the second member in the pre- $/+/$ cluster. C_2 (rows) represents consonants occurring in post- $/+/$ position. Segments are classified on the basis of point of articulation. (.) on the table indicates $/+/$. The numerical superscripts refer to the following examples:

- 1. /gálb/ ‘heart’
/gálf+fá:yeg/ ‘a contented heart’
- 2. /ʃánz/ ‘goat’
/ʃánš+šá:yxi/ ‘an old goat’
- 3. /tálg/ ‘bullet’
/tálg+gé:ru/ ‘another bullet’

7.7. REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION RESULTING FROM LOSS OF $/+/$

Table Va represents possible assimilations when $/+/$ is lost in the environment $VC + C$, where a final consonant (post-vocalic pre-junctural) is assimilated to a post-junctural consonant (whether pre-vocalic or first member in an initial cluster). C_1 represents the pre-junctural consonant, C_2 , the post-junctural. The numerical superscripts refer to the following examples.

- (1) /sábát+dakká:/
/sábaddakká:/ ‘the other (fellow’s) basket’
- (2) /xábaš+sábši/
/xábassábši/ ‘he took seven (in his palm)’
- (3) /bálaħ+ʃá:l/
/bálaħʃá:l/ ‘good dates’
- (4) /kátalat+zgé:m/
/kátalazzgé:m/ ‘she killed a mouse’
- (5) /dálag+kfá:yi/
/dálakkfá:yi/ ‘he poured enough (of any liquid)’
- (6) /másak+grá:b/
/másaggrá:b/ ‘he caught a crow’

Regressive Assimilation Across Juncture
TABLE V

Regressive Assimilation conditioned by Loss of Juncture

7.8. ASSIMILATION BY LOSS

- (1) /P/ is dropped when /+/ is lost in the environment /-C+?V/. Examples:

/náxl+?abú:/
 /náxlabú:/ 'his father's palm groves'

- (2) The sequence /?V^L/ is dropped when /+/ is lost in the environment /V+?V/.

Examples:

/hádda+?axú:/
 /háddaxú:/ 'he soothed his brother'

7.9. REDUPLICATION

- (1) Final single consonants in monosyllabic microsegments of the structure C^VC are reduplicated on coming into close transition with suffixes of the structure V, VC or CV(C).

Examples: /xáddu/ 'his cheek'
 /xáddhi/ 'her cheek'

The only exceptions to this rule are: /kál/ 'he ate' and /xád/ 'he took'. Examples:

/kálat/ 'she ate'
 /xádow/ 'they took'.



PART II

MORPHEMICS



C

8. saSi:di MORPHEMIC SEGMENTS

8.1. SUPRASEGMENTAL MORPHEMES

8.1.1. *Stress*

(a) The citation forms of morphologically minimal words (consisting of a stem minimally CV) occur with a stress morpheme which contains a primary stress and a preceding plus.

(b) The citation forms of morphologically nonminimal words occur with a stress morpheme which contains a primary stress which — as with the morphologically minimal word — falls on the syllables of the word in accordance with the statements given in 2.3.5. as well as a preceding plus.

8.1.2. *Intonation*

A saSi:di intonation contour constitutes an intonation morpheme which co-occurs with a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence. saSi:di intonation contours are described in 2.4.

8.2. SEGMENTAL MORPHEMES

8.2.1 *Stems*

Noun and verb stems are bimorphemic units, each consisting of:

- (1) a root made up exclusively of consonants,
- (2) a vocalic pattern which consists of at least one vowel.

Consonantal roots as well as vocalic patterns consisting of more than one vowel are by definition discontinuous morphemes. Other form classes than nouns and verbs have stems which consist of contiguous phonemic sequences.

8.2.2. *Affixes*

Inflectional: indicates a grammatical category, and may be segmentally overt or covert.

Derivational: changes the form class of the stem, and is segmentally overt.

Affixes include suffixes, prefixes and infixes.¹



¹ In the present discussion of sq̩i;di morphemics (and syntax), stress will be unmarked unless relevant to the point discussed.

9. FORM CLASSES IN *səfi:di*

In terms of inflectional behavior it is possible to establish the following form classes:

- (1) Nouns: inflected for number, gender, definiteness and allocation.
- (2) Noun-adjectives (henceforth referred to as "adjectives"): a limited number of nouns which fill the modifier slot and agree with the modified noun in number and gender. Adjectives do not have a dual form. The inflectional behavior of adjectives is determined by the slot, not the stem.
- (3) Verbs: inflected for aspect, mood, tense, voice, subject and object reference.
- (4) Pronouns: inflected for person, gender and number.
- (5) Particles: some particles are inflected for allocation.

9.1. NOUNS

Nouns in *səfi:di* may be divided into the following six sub-classes on the basis of distributional similarities displayed in the selection of allomorphs of the plural morpheme {L} (arranged on the basis of number of stems in each subclass):

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/-a:t/	Noun 1
/-Ø/	2
/-i:n/	3
/-i/	4
/-a:n/	5
/-a/	6

9.1.1. *Singular and plural patterns in səfi:di*

Tables VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, and XI show the singular and plural patterns in *səfi:di*.

9.1.2. *Pluralization of nominal sub-classes*

The following observations on the pluralization of nominal sub-classes may be made.

- (1) Noun 1 and Noun 3 form the plural by addition of the plural suffix and automatic morphophonemic alternation (described in 7.3.).

(2) Noun 2, Noun 4, Noun 5 and Noun 6 form the plural by addition of the plural suffix and changes in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(3) There is overlapping of singular general patterns (e.g., the pattern C₁VC₂V:C₃ appears with Noun 1 (8) and Noun 3 (5), but this fact does not present a problem insofar as the vocalic sub-patterns are different.

(4) There is overlapping of singular vocalic sub-patterns (e.g., sub-pattern C₁C₂a:C₃ appears with Noun 1 (7) and Noun 4 (3)). A singular sub-pattern may have several plural sub-patterns (e.g., singular sub-pattern C₁a:C₂eC₃ Noun 2 (11)). Several singular sub-patterns may have one plural sub-pattern (e.g., Noun 2 (20)). This type of overlapping increases the difficulty of prediction of plural patterns.

(5) The following types of noun stems are not included in tables VI-XI:

(a) Nouns ending with the sequence /-ey/ which form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-i:n/ or /-i/ in free variation, /-ey/ alternates with /-iy-/ (e.g., /turabey/ 'undertaker', /turabiyyi/ or /turabiyyi:n/ 'undertakers'.

Exceptions are few noun stems of the singular general pattern C₁V:C₂VC₃ (included in the pertinent sub-classes) in the above mentioned tables. Examples:

/ga:dəy/ 'judge'	/guda/ 'judges'
/qə:səy/ 'rebel'	/qə:syʃ:n/ 'rebels'

(b) Names of persons (other than those which function as adjectives) and borrowed words which form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-a:t/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation. Examples:

1. Names

/Piħmad/ a male name	/Piħmada:t/
/fa:tmə/ a female name	/fatmə:t/

2. Borrowed words

/šort/ 'short trousers'	/šorta:t/
/ke:k/ 'cake'	/keka:t/

(c) Feminine stems which are formed by addition of /-i/ or /-a/ (allomorphs of {F}) to the masculine singular stem. They form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-a:t/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation (but participles (active and passive) with (or without) the feminine suffix /-i/ or /-a/ form the plural with /-i:n/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation). Examples:

<i>m.s.</i>	<i>f.s.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
/ħaki:m/ 'physician'	/ħaki:mi/	/ħakima:t/
/dob/ 'bear'	/dubba/	/dubba:t/

9.1.3. Dual number

The dual is signalled by suffixing /-e:n/ to the singular stem. Examples:

/gi:t/	/giṭe:n/	'two small amounts'
/gefl/	/giṭle:n/	'two locks'

9.1.4. Dual Forms

Apart from automatic vowel alternation, the following observations may be made about dual forms.

- (1) The allomorphs /-i/ and /-a/ of {F} alternate with /-t/ before /-e:n/. Examples:

/birri:mi/	/birrimte:n/	'two corkscrews'
/ħašara/	/ħašarte:n/	'two insects'

- (2) Final /-y/ in monosyllabic stems of the structure CVC is reduplicated before /-e:n/. Examples:

/xay/	/xayye:n/	'two brothers'
/ħay/	/ħayye:n/	'two snakes'

9.1.5. Gender

9.1.5.1. səSi:di noun stems may be subdivided into:

- (1) inherently masculine noun stems,
 - (2) noun stems in which the feminine gender is signalled by the feminine morpheme {F} which has the following allomorphs:
- (a) /-Ø/: with feminine stems in which gender is not overtly indicated (e.g., /ra:s/ 'head');
 - (b) /-i/: with non-emphatic noun stems and emphatic noun stems ending with the sequences:
-Vyi (e.g., /battaniyi/ 'blanket')
-CV:Ci (e.g., /dama:ni/ 'collateral')
 - (c) /-t-/: when followed in close transition by suffixes of the structure V(C): (e.g., /tiffaħte:n/ 'two apples')
 - (d) /-it/: 1. Phonologically conditioned: when followed in close transition by suffixes of the structure CV(C): (e.g., /tiffaħithi/ 'her apple');
2. Syntactically conditioned: when the feminine noun occurs as head of a genitival nominal phrase: (e.g., /tiffaħħit ħassan/ 'Hassan's (male name) apple').
 - (e) /-a/ elsewhere (e.g., /balta/ 'axe').

9.1.5.2. Gender in plural nouns:

Gender is unsignalled in plural nouns. Singular masculine and singular feminine stems may select the same plural suffix. The following examples illustrate this point.

Nominal

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Noun 1	/mdarrsi/ ‘woman teacher’	/mdarra:t/
	/baka:n/ ‘place’ (m.)	/bakana:t/
Noun 2	/rɑ:s/ ‘head’ (f.)	/ru:s/
	/berj/ ‘tower’ (m.)	/bru:j/
	/ze:ni/ ‘good’ (f.)	/zeni:n/
Noun 3	/xarə:bɑ/ ‘ruin’ (f.)	/xarəbɪ:n/
	/mayyet/ ‘dead’ (m.)	/maytyi:n/
Noun 4	/waħiyyi/ ‘oasis inhabitant’ (f.)	/waħiyyi/ or /waħiyyi:n/
	/wa:hey/ ‘oasis inhabitant’ (m.)	
Noun 5	/ħe:tɑ/ ‘wall’ (f.)	/ħitɑ:n/
	/għe:t/ ‘field’ (m.)	/għitɑ:n/
Noun 6	/šari:fi/ ‘noble’ (f.)	/šara:fa/
	/šari:f/ ‘noble’ (m.)	

9.1.6. *Definiteness*

safi:di nouns are inflected for definiteness either overtly by prefixing /Pil-/ to the noun stem or covertly by:

- (1) Class membership: as is the case with proper nouns:
- (2) Position: (a) as head of a genitival nominal phrase, (b) filler of the head slot after the vocative particle /ya/, (c) as head of a nominal construct.

9.1.7. /Pil-/ has the allomorph PiC_1C_1 where C_1 represents any dental, alveolar or palatal consonant (except /č/). It has the allomorph /li-/ before noun stems beginning with CC-, /l-/ elsewhere. Examples:

/Piddáb/ ‘the hyena’, /lifnsé:n/ ‘the fox’, /lkálb/ ‘the dog’.

9.1.8. Inflection of nouns for definiteness and allocation are — as elsewhere in *safi:di* — mutually exclusive.

9.2. ADJECTIVES

9.2.1. *Singular and plural patterns of adjectives*

There are four sub-classes of adjectives, classified on the basis of distributional similarities displayed in the selection of the plural suffix (arranged on the table on the basis of the number of stems belonging to each sub-class).

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/-i:n/	Adjective 1

/-Ø/	Adjective 2
/-i/	Adjective 3
/-a/	Adjective 4

In tables XII, XIII, and XIV, of adjective subclasses, N = noun; numbers in parentheses refer to singular general patterns.

9.2.1.1. Adjective 1 comprises stems of noun 3. Examples:

/naj̥ja:j/	'talkative' (Noun 3 (2))
/raj̥le:n na;jja:ji:n/	'two talkative men'
/ri;j̥a:la na;jja:ji:n/	'talkative men'

9.2.2. *The Pluralization of Adjective Sub-Classes*

The following observations on the pluralization of adjective sub-classes may be made.

(1) Adjective 1 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-i:n/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation.

(2) Adjective 2 forms the plural by addition of /Ø/ and variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(3) Adjective 3 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-i/, variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem or automatic morphophonemic alternation. All noun stems ending with the sequence /-ey/ — not included in Table XIII — function as Adjective 3, with the exceptions mentioned in 9.1.2(5a) above.

(4) Adjective 4 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-a/ and variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(5) The following adjective stems do not have plural forms:

- (a) /bərakə/ 'blessed' or 'blessing'
 /ħar/ 'warm' or 'warmth'
 /sa:l/ 'excellent'
- (b) Comparative adjective stems:
 /Piddya:ba ɬawʃar min likla:b/
 'wolves are fiercer than dogs'

9.2.2.1. Agreement with nouns:

9.2.2.1.1. Number and gender. Adjectives

(1) agree with singular nouns in number and gender. Examples:

/g̥e:t/	'field (m.)'
/g̥e:t wa:seʃ/	'wide field'
/t̥urga/	'corridor (f.)'
/t̥urga wa:sʃi/	'wide corridor'

(2) show plural form when modifying dual and plural nouns. Examples:

Dual	/g̥ete:n wasʃi:n/	'two wide fields'
	/t̥urgte:n wasʃi:n/	'two wide corridors'

Plural /gita:n wassi:n/
 /turga:t wassi:n/

9.2.2.2. Definiteness:

(1) Adjectives may or may not agree with nouns in definiteness in post-nominal position. Examples:

/lkalb wa:ser/ ‘the dog is fierce’
 /lkalb lwa:ser/ ‘the dog (which is) fierce’

(2) In pre-nominal position adjectives do not show agreement with nouns in definiteness. Examples:

/wa:ser lkalb/ ‘the dog is fierce’
 Lit. ‘fierce is the dog’

9.2.3. Numerical adjectives

9.2.3.1. Cardinal numerical adjectives:

9.2.3.1.1. Distribution.

(1) /wa:hed/ ‘one’ agrees with the modified noun in gender and definiteness. When definite, /wa:hed/ occurs only in post-nominal position (e.g., /Pirra:jel lwa:hed/ ‘the one man’).

(2) /tne:n/ ‘two’ occurs before plural nouns (e.g., /tne:n fafali/ ‘two workers’) and after dual nouns (e.g., /sabate:n tne:n/ ‘two baskets’). /tne:n/ agrees with the modified noun in definiteness (e.g., /Pissabaten Pittne:n/ ‘the two baskets’).

(3) Cardinal numerical adjectives from 3 to 10 occur with plural nouns, in pre- or post-nominal position. In post-nominal position 3 to 10 agree with the modified noun in definiteness, whereas in pre-nominal position they may or may not agree with the modified noun in definiteness. Cardinals from 3 to 10 are not inflected for gender. Examples:

/xamas byu:t/ ‘five houses’
 /lxamas sajara:t/ ‘the five trees’.

(4) Cardinal numerical adjectives from 11 upward are uninflected, and occur:

(a) definite or indefinite in pre-nominal position, with indefinite singular nouns. Examples:

/ħda:šer be:t/ ‘eleven houses’
 /liħda:šer be:t/ ‘the eleven houses’.

(b) definite in post-nominal position with plural definite nouns (e.g., /libyu:t liħda:šer/ ‘the eleven houses’).

9.2.3.1.2. Ordinal numerical adjectives

(1) modify singular nouns (e.g., /xa:mes ġawa:b/ ‘the fifth letter’).

(2) Ordinals from 1 to 10 occur uninflected in pre-nominal position. In post-nominal position ordinals from 1 to 10 agree with the modified noun in gender and definiteness. Examples:

/gubba xa:msi/ ‘a fifth (f.) dome (f.)’
 /lgubba lxa:msi/ ‘the fifth (f.) dome (f.)’

- (3) Ordinal numerical adjectives from 11 upward occur in post-nominal position and agree with the modified noun in definiteness:

/lyo:m lxamsi:n/ ‘the fiftieth day’.

9.2.4. Comparison of adjectives

9.2.4.1. The comparative degree:

(1) Participial adjectives,¹ active (e.g., /fa:hem/ ‘understanding’), and passive (e.g., /mafhu:m/ ‘understood’) form the comparative by a phrase in which one of the intensifiers — /Paktar/ ‘more’, /Pagal/ ‘less’, /Paḥsan/ ‘better’ — occurs followed or not followed by a /min/-phrase in post-adjectival position (e.g., /ra:jel mafhu:m Paktar min ge:ru/ ‘a man better understood than others’). The phrase of comparison occurs in post-nominal position. The adjective agrees with the noun in number and gender.

(2) Other adjectives than participials form the comparative with the comparison morpheme {Pa} prefixed to the comparative stem of the adjective. Adjectives with the prefix /Pa-/ occur in post-nominal position, may or may not agree with the noun in definiteness, and are not inflected for number or gender.

9.2.4.2. The superlative degree:

The comparative adjective with /Pa-/ signals the superlative degree in the following positions: (a) pre-nominal (e.g., /Pabrad yo:m/ ‘the coolest day’); (b) pre-nominal, followed in post-nominal position by /fi-/ phrase (e.g., /Pabrad yo:m fiššaher/ ‘the coolest day in the month’).

9.2.4.3. Adjectives which form comparison by a phrase signal the superlative degree by occurrence in post-nominal position, showing agreement with the modified noun in number and gender, with the intensifier occurring in pre-nominal position. Example:

/Paktar wad ḥadda:t/
 ‘the most talkative boy of all’.

Superlative adjectives are inflected for allocation: /Pəsmərhəm/ ‘the brownest of them’.

9.3. VERBS

9.3.1. Verb classes

səfi:di verbs may be divided into the following sub-classes on the basis of vocalic pattern relationship between the perfective and the imperfective stems of the third singular masculine forms. Each sub-class is labelled by the type of nucleus of the stem final syllable of the imperfective form:

¹ Few active participial adjectives compare with the prefix /Pa-/ (e.g., /Panjaḥ/ ‘more successful’).

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/i/	Verb _{1a}
/i:/	Verb _{1b}
/e/	Verb ₂
/a/	Verb ₃
/u:/	Verb ₄
/o/	Verb ₅

The following symbols are used in tables XV-XIX, which represent the verb sub-classes.

Mon.	= monoliteral stem
Bi.	= biliteral stem
Tri.	= triliteral stem
Quad.	= quadrilateral stem
SIL	= stem initial syllable
SFL	= stem final syllable

Unless otherwise indicated, verb stem = third singular masculine perfective aspect stem, which is unmarked.

9.3.2. *Verbal Sub-Classes*

The following observations may be made on verbal sub-classes.

- (1) The maximal vocalic pattern of the verb stem is two vowels.
- (2) The first vowel in bisyllabic perfective stems in forming the imperfective aspect is either (a) reduced, when the stress shifts to the prefix. Example:

/másak/ ‘he caught’
/yímsek/ ‘he catches’

- (b) remains unchanged (e.g., all the quadrilateral stems of Verb 2).

9.3.3. *Verb inflection*

9.3.3.1. Aspect:

9.3.3.1.1. The position of the pronominal affix indicates aspect, which is either perfective or imperfective. Pronominal suffixes indicate the perfective aspect, pronominal prefixes indicate the imperfective aspect. Apart from indicating aspect, pronominal affixes indicate subject and object. Subject pronouns indicate person, gender and number of the subject: three persons, one gender (feminine), and one number (plural). Masculine gender and singular number categories are un signalled.

9.3.3.1.2. The following two paradigms illustrate this point:

/masak/ ‘he caught’

			<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
1. Perfective form					
3.m.s.	masak	masak	~Ø	-Ø	-
3.f.s.	masakat		-at	-Ø-	-at
2.m.s.	masakt		-t	-t	-
2.f.s.	masakti		-ti	-t-	-i
1 s.	masakt		-t	-t	-
3 pl.	masaku		-u	-Ø-	-u
2.pl.	masaktu		-tu	-t-	-u
1.pl.	masakni		-ni	-n-	-i
2. Imperfective form					
3.m.s.	yimsek	yi~msek	-	yi-	-
3.f.s.	timsek	ti-~Ø		ti-	-Ø
2.m.s.	timsek	ti-	-	ti-	-
2.f.s.	timski	ti~msk	-i	ti-	-i
1.s.	nimsek	ni~msek	-	ni-	-
3 pl.	yimsku	yi~msk~	u	yi-	-u
2 pl.	timsku	ti-	-u	ti-	-u
1 pl.	nimsku	ni-	-u	ni-	-u

9.3.3.1.3. The following observations on subject pronouns may be made.

(1) In addition to indicating aspect by position, subject pronouns have the dual function of signalling subject and agreement in person, gender and number with an independent subject:

/lbana:t katabow/ ‘the girls wrote’
 /lbagara t^g:rat/ ‘the cow ran away’.

(2) Comparing the perfective and the imperfective subject pronouns, we notice that if the vowel in the prefixal segments of the imperfective set is eliminated as an epenthetic vowel, the two sets may be combined as follows:

	<i>Morpheme</i>	<i>Allomorphs</i>	
		<i>Perfective</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>
3.m.s.	{y}	-Ø	y-
3.f.s.	{t}	-at	t-
2.m.s.	{t}	-t	t-
2.f.s.	{ti}	-ti	t-i
1 s.	{n}	-t	n-
3 pl.	{yu}	-u	y-u
2 pl.	{tu}	-tu	t-u
1 pl.	{nu}	-ni	n-u

(3) Final /-i/ in subject pronouns, /-ni/ excepted, alternates with /-ey/; final /-u/ alternates with /-ow/ before major junctures. Examples:

/² lafé:³ tey ¹ #/ 'you (f.s.) handed'

/² lafé:³ tow ¹ #/ 'you (pl.) handed'

/² katábni ³ ¹ #/ 'we wrote'

(4) /yu-/, /tu-/, /nu-/ occur before imperfective stems of the structure C₁C₂oC₃; /y-/, /t-/, /n-/ occur before imperfective stems beginning with the sequence CV-,¹ /yi-/, /ti-/, /ni-/ elsewhere with imperfective stems. Examples:

/yuskot/ 'he keeps silent'

/yganney/ 'he sings'

/yisrey/ 'he/it (m.) creeps'

9.3.3.1.4. Object reference. Verbs are inflected for object reference. Object pronouns indicate person, gender and number of the object: three persons, two genders and one number (plural). Singular number as well as gender in the plural forms is un signalled.

/galab/ 'he defeated'

			<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
3.m.s.	galabu	galab	~u	-Ø-	-u
3.f.s.	galabhi		-hi	-h-	-i
2.m.s.	galabak		-ak	-k	-a-
2.f.s.	galabek		-ek	-k	-e-
1 s.	galabni		-ni	-ni	-Ø
3 pl.	galabhum	galab	-hum	h-	-um
2 pl.	galabkum		-kum	k-	-um
1 pl.	galabni		-ni	n-	-i

9.3.3.1.5. Non-subject pronouns.

(1) A formally and distributionally similar set to object pronouns indicates allocation. The two sets, the object and allocative pronouns, may be collapsed into one, labelled non-subject pronouns. The first person singular /-ni/ occurs in post-verbal position and has the allomorph /-i/ elsewhere. The third person singular /-u/ has the allomorph /-Ø/ when suffixed to subject pronouns ending with -V, prepositional forms and /Padi/ 'this'. /-ak/ and /-ek/ have the allomorphs /-k/ and /-key/ respectively in the same environments.

(2) /-hum/ and /-kum/ have the allomorphs /-hom/, /-kom/ before major juncture.

(3) First singular /-ni/ has the allomorph /-ney/ before major juncture.

(4) First plural /-ni/ has the allomorph /-na/ before or at the loss of /+/.

(5) On the syntactic level non-subject pronouns fill the object slot in declarative verbal sentences, by occurrence in close transition with verb stems inflected for subject reference (i.e., verbal construct). Non-subject pronouns fill the modifier slot in a nominal construct (see 14.2 below).

² Pronominal prefixes beginning with /t-/ have allomorphs beginning with /Pi-/ when prefixed to stems beginning with /t-/ or /d-/ (e.g., t-~da:grow/ : /Pidda:grow/ 'you (pl.) try').

9.3.3.1.6. Mood.

(A) The imperative mood.

(a) *səq̩i:di* verb stems are inflected for the imperative mood³ which is indicated by the prefix {pi}. The imperative stem is that of the imperfective aspect. {pi} has the following allomorphs:

1. /Pu-/ before stems of the structure CCoC;

/Pusnot/ ‘keep quiet (m.s.)!’
 /Puukom/ ‘catch (m.s.)!’

/Pi-/ before other stems of the structure CCVC:

/Pimsek/ ‘hold (m.s.)!’
 /Piuref/ ‘spend (m.s.)!’

2. /Ø-/ elsewhere: /gi:l/ ‘forgive! (m.s.)’

(b) The imperative stem is inflected for gender (feminine) in the shape of the suffix /-i/ (/ey/ before major juncture) and number (plural) in the shape of the suffix /-u/ (/ow/ before major junctures). Examples:

/ši:l/ ‘go away (m.s.)!’
 /ši:ley/ ‘go away (f.s.)!’
 /ši:low/ ‘go away (pl.)!’

(B) The desiderative mood.

(a) *səq̩i:di* verbs with stems of the structure $C_1C_2eC_3$ and $C_1aC_2aC_3$ are inflected for the desiderative⁴ mood which is indicated by the morpheme {sta} which has the allomorphs /sta-/ for the perfective, and /-sta-/ for the imperfective. Examples:

/greb/ ‘he/it (m.) came near’
 /stagrab/ ‘he thought (it was) near’
 /yistagrab/ ‘he thinks (it is) near’

(b) With stems of the structure $C_1C_2eC_3$ /sta-/ is prefixed to the imperfective aspect stem /-sta-/ to the perfective aspect stem. Examples:

/yibrad/ ‘he feels cold’
 /stabrad/ ‘he thought (it was) cold’
 /bred/ ‘he felt cold’
 /yistabred/ ‘he thinks (it is) cold’

(c) With stems of the structure $C_1aC_2aC_3$, the desiderative forms are

sta[~] $C_1C_2aC_3$ e.g., /halaf/ ‘he swore’
 /staħlaf/ ‘he wanted (him) to swear’
 yista[~] $C_1C_2eC_3$ /yistaħlef/ ‘he wants (him) to swear’

³ /ji/ ‘he came’ has no imperative form; /ha:t/ ‘bring (m.s.)’ and /taħħa:li/ ‘come (m.s.)’ are inflected only for the imperative mood.

⁴ The term estimative-desiderative may be equally satisfactory.

9.3.3.1.7. Tense.

(1) Durative: indicated by prefixing /ʃa-/ to the imperfective aspect form (e.g., /ʃaya:kel/ 'he is eating').

(2) Future: indicated by prefixing /ha-/ to the imperfective aspect form (e.g., /haya:kel/ 'he will eat'.⁵

9.3.3.1.8. Voice. The passive voice is indicated by the morpheme {pit}.

(1) The passive voice (perfective) is indicated by /pit-/ prefixed to perfective aspect stems other than stems of the structure C₁C₂eC₃ (e.g., /pitgasam/ : /tgasam/ 'it was divided' : (/gasam/ 'he divided')).

(2) The passive voice (imperfective) is indicated by /yit-/ (/yi- -pit-, see 7.8 above) prefixed to perfective aspect stems other than those of the structure C₁aC₂i, C₁aC₂a, C₁C₂eC₃, C₁aC₂aC₃ (e.g., /yitna:sas/ 'it is filled' (/nə:sas/ 'he filled')).

(3) Perfective passive form of stems of the structure C₁C₂eC₃ is

$$\text{pit}^{\frown} \text{C}_1 \text{a} \text{C}_2 \text{a} \text{C}_3$$

(e.g., /šreb/ 'he/it (m.) drank' : /tšarab/ 'it [e.g., tea] was drunk').

(4) Imperfective passive forms of stems of the structure

{ C ₁ aC ₂ i	yit [~] C ₁ iC ₂ ey	/sali/	'he fried'
		/yitsiley/	'it is fried'
{ C ₁ aC ₂ a		/gara/	'he read'
		/yitgirey/	'it is read'
{ C ₁ C ₂ eC ₃	yit [~] C ₁ iC ₂ eC ₃	/řref/	'he knew'
		/yitřiref/	'he is known'
{ C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃		/řamal/	'he made'
		/yitřimel/	'it is made'

(5) The passive forms of /xad/ 'he took' are:

Perfective	/pitta:xad/
Imperfective	/yitta:xad/

(6) /ji/ has no passive forms.

9.3.3.1.9. The causative voice is indicated by the morpheme {C}, an infix which has the following allomorphs.

(1a) Reduplication of -C₂- in biliteral and triliteral verb stems. Examples:

/mali/	'he filled'
/malli/	'he caused to fill'
/səraf/	'he spent'
/sərraf/	'he caused to spend'

⁵ Future tense may be expressed by /rə:yəħ/ 'going to' + the imperfective aspect form of the verb (e.g., /rə:yəħ yjey/ 'he will come').

(1b) In biliteral stems of the type C₁a:C₂, when the imperfective aspect stem nucleus is /-i:-/ or /-u:-/, /-i:-/ alternates with /-ayya-/; /-u:-/ with /-awwa-/. Examples:

- | | |
|----------|----------------------|
| /ja:b/ | 'he brought' |
| /yji:b/ | 'he brings' |
| /jayyab/ | 'he caused to bring' |
| /fa:t/ | 'he passed by' |
| /yfu:t/ | 'he passes by' |
| /fawwat/ | 'he caused to pass' |

(1c) In triliteral stems of the structure C₁C₂eC₃ (e.g., /šreb/ 'he/it drank'), /-e-/ alternates with /-a--a-/ (e.g., /šarrab/ 'he caused to drink'). When -C₃ is /y/, it is dropped:

- | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|
| /drey/ | 'he got accustomed' |
| /darrə/ | 'he caused to get accustomed' |

(2) /-Ø-/ allomorph with triliteral stems of the type C₁aC₂C₂i and C₁aC₂C₂a and quadrilateral stems. Examples:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| /sabbi/ | 'he packed' or 'he caused to pack' |
| /sarrə/ | 'he uncovered' or 'he caused to uncover' |
| /sabras/ | 'he went quickly' or 'he caused to go quickly' |

9.3.4. *The morphophonemics of the səSi:di verb*

Apart from the vocalic change which the stem may undergo, there are the following morphophonemic changes which occur when the stem comes in close transition with a suffix.

(1) Dropping of the final vowel:

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------|---------|------------|
| /maši/ | 'he left' | /mašat/ | 'she left' |
|--------|-----------|---------|------------|

(2) The sequence /-ey/ final alternates with /i:/ before suffixes of the structure C, CV(C):

- | | |
|----------|-------------------|
| /hdey/ | 'he became quiet' |
| /hdi:ni/ | 'we became quiet' |

(3) The prefixes, /pit-/, /yit-/, /tit-/, /nit-/, have allomorphs of the type CiC₁ where C₁ represents /t d s z š j/ when in close transition with stems starting with any of those consonants (e.g., /yijjallad/ 'he endures').

(4) /yi-/ has the allomorph /y-/ when in close transition with stems beginning with the sequence CV- (e.g., /ykallel/ 'he talks (to)').

(5) /pit-/ has the allomorph /t-/ when in close transition with stems beginning with the sequence CV- (e.g., /tšamal/ 'it (m.) was made').

TABLE VI
Noun I

Reference No.	General Pattern	Singular		Plural	
		Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern
1a	C ₁ V:C ₁ V	C ₁ a:C ₁ a C ₁ u:C ₁ a C ₁ o:C ₁ a C ₁ i:C ₂ a C ₁ e:C ₁ i C ₁ e:C ₂ a C ₁ a:C ₂ i C ₁ a:C ₂ a C ₁ u:C ₂ j C ₁ u:C ₂ a C ₁ o:C ₂ j C ₁ o:C ₂ a	/gə:də/ 'commotion' /gu:ge/ 'owl' /xo:xa/ 'peach' /sirə/ 'small fish' /we:bɪ/ 'a grain measure' /sə:ta/ 'quarrel' /sa:di/ 'habit' /zə:ta/ 'dirty pond' /fi:li/ 'grain of beans' /tu:bə/ 'small rock' /ko:li/ 'heap' /tə:ra:/ 'four' (used in counting fruits and vegetables)	/gə:gə:t/ /gu:ga:t/ /xo:xa:t/ /sirə:t/ /we:bə:t/ /sə:ta:t/ /sa:da:t/ /zə:ta:t/ /fi:la:t/ /tu:bə:t/ /ko:li:t/ /tə:ra:t/	C ₁ aC ₁ a:t C ₁ uC ₁ a:t C ₁ oC ₁ a:t C ₁ iC ₂ a:t C ₁ eC ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ i:t C ₁ aC ₂ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ j:t C ₁ uC ₂ a:t C ₁ oC ₂ j:t C ₁ oC ₂ a:t
1b	C ₁ V:C ₂ V				C ₁ VC ₂ a:t
2	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₄ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₄ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₄ j C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ a C ₁ lC ₂ eC ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ C ₁ iC ₂ C ₄ j C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ j C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ a C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ i C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ j	/sinni/ 'a tooth' /habbi/ 'a kiss' /habba/ 'a lioness' /rumma/ 'a heavy load' /bret/ 'a fool' /badai/ 'replacement' /wirii/ 'inheritance' /gatli/ 'a beating' /dagra/ 'frown' /nugra/ 'a pit' /šariki/ 'company' /badani/ 'a family' /baraka/ 'a blessing'	/simna:t/ /habba:t/ /habba:t/ /rumma:t/ /bret:t/ /badala:t/ /wirii:t/ /gatla:t/ /dagrat: /nugra:t/ /šarika:t/ /badana:t/ /barakat:/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₄ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ C ₄ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ a:t C ₁ lC ₂ iC ₃ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:t C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ j:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ i:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ j:t
3	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃				C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ a:t
4	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃				C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t
5	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V				C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ a:t
6	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ V				C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t

Table VI (Continued)

Reference No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
7	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃	/jra:b/ 'a leather case'	/rabat/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ :art	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃ :art
8a	C ₁ YC ₃ Y:C ₂	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₂	/hasi:S/ 'an (amount) of grass'	/hašat/	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃ :art	C ₁ YC ₃ Y:C ₂ :art
8b	C ₁ YC ₃ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃	/halib/ 'an (amount) of milk'	/halibat/	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃ :art	C ₁ YC ₃ V:C ₃ :art
9	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃	/tala:g/ 'divorce (n.)'	/alaga:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ :art	C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃ :art
		C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃	/ktabi:/ 'writing'	/ktabat/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ :art	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ :art
		C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃	/traga:/ 'a (big) amount'	/traga:t/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ :art	C ₁ C ₂ aV:C ₃ :art
10	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃	/hmuli:/ 'weight'	/hmulat/	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃ :art	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃ :art
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃	/katini/ 'a (watch) chain'	/katinat/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ :art	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃ :art
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃	/kaħaħi/ 'a black spot'	/kaħħalat/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ :art	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ V:C ₃ :art
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃ a	/gara:fa/ 'cemetery'	/garaħat/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:art	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ V:C ₃ :art
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃ i	/janu:si/ 'a buffalo'	/janusat/	C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ a:art	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃ a:art
		C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ i	/birri:mi/ 'a screw'	/birrimat/	C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃ i
		C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i	/jimme:zi/ 'a kind of fruit'	/jimmeżat/	C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃ i
		C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ i	/simma:n/ 'a pigeonlike bird'	/simmata:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃ i
		C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ a	/samma:Si/ 'a peg'	/sammaSa:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ a	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:art
		C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ a	/rumma:ni/ 'a pomegranite'	/rummanata:t/	C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ a	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:art
		C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ i	/stubbba:/ 'a railway term'	/stubbat/	C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ i:art
		C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i	/bunyyi:/ 'a fist'	/bunyyat/	C ₁ uC ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i:art
		C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₃ a	/kalabs/ 'hand-cuff'	/kalabat/	C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₃ a	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:art
		C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₃ i	/trumba:/ 'a pump'	/trumbat/	C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ i:art
		C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₃ e:C ₃ i	/turbid:/ 'torpedo'	/turbidat/	C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₃ e:C ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i:art
		C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a	/gartafä/ 'a small theft'	/gartafat/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:art
		C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ i	/mustafa:/ 'a favoured person'	/mustafat/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ i:art
		C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ e:C ₃ i	/ħiři:jmi/ 'a threat'	/ħiřiżmat/	C ₁ iC ₂ aC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ i:art
		C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:C ₃ i	/jafta:ni/ 'jean female animal (cow etc.)'	/jaftanat/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:C ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:C ₃ i:art
18	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₄ V	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄	/xartu:ʃi/ 'a bullet'	/xartušat/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄ :art	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄ :art
		C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄	/xarsu:fa/ 'artichoke'	/xarsuſat/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄ :art	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄ :art
		C ₁ IC ₂ C ₃ lC ₄ C ₃ a:C ₄	/pistifha:m/ 'enquiry'	/pistifhamat/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ lC ₄ C ₃ a:C ₄ :art	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ lC ₄ C ₃ a:C ₄ :art
19	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VVC ₄ C ₅ V:C ₆					

TABLE VII
Noun 2

Reference No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C ₁ VC ₂	C ₁ eC ₂	/ser/ 'a secret' /mer/ 'a sour material' /sad/ 'dam' /mox/ 'brain' /re:S/ 'profit' /ra:s/ 'head' /si:Si/ 'an oriental smoking device' /si:mi/ 'movies' /xe:mi/ 'tent' /ʃumi/ 'grain store' /fura/ 'a towel' /ʃɔ:ta/ 'epidemic' /sabab/ 'reason' /zimmi/ 'conscience' /kissa/ 'share (n.)' /gulli/ 'jar' /gubba/ 'dome' /beri/ 'tower' /kalb/ 'dog' /badr/ 'full moon' /xorj/ 'canvas bag' /malek/ 'king' /dakar/ 'male' /jabal/ 'mountain' /birdi/ '(Upper Egyptian) robe' /zagli/ 'stick'	/sra:r/ /mrur/ /stu:d/ /mxux/ /ryu:S/ /rys/ /ʃya:S/ /syam/ /xyam/ /ʃwan/ /fwat/ /ʃwat/ /sba:b/ /znam/ /ʃas/ /glal/ /gbab/ /bru:j/ /kla:b/ /bdur: /xru:j/ /mluk/ /dkurr/ /jba:l/ /brad/ /zgal/	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃
2	CV:C ₂	C ₁ aC ₂				
3a	C ₁ V:CV	C ₁ i:C ₂				
3b	C ₁ V:CV	C ₁ i:C ₂				
4	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₂	C ₁ o:C ₂				
5	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ V	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃				
6	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃				
7	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ oC ₂ C ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ eC ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃				
8	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃				

Table VII (Continued)

Table VII (Continued)

Reference No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
21	$C_1VC_2C_1VC_3V$	$C_1UC_2C_3a:C_4$	/kurba:/ 'a whip' /Pustu:/ 'fleet'	/kargibi:/ /Pasati:/	$C_1aC_2a:C_1eC_3$	$C_1VC_3V:C_1VC_3$
22	$C_1VC_2C_3aVC_1V$	$C_1iC_2C_1aC_3a$	/mijmara/ 'pot for burning coal' /miglami/ 'box for pencils'	/majia:mer/ /magala:em/ /mafa:rem/ /mada:res/ /mana:der/	$C_1aC_2a:C_3eC_1$	$C_1VC_3V:C_3VC_1$
23	$C_1VC_2C_3aVC_4V$	$C_1iC_2C_3aC_1i$ $C_1iC_2C_3aC_4a$ $C_1iC_2C_3aC_1a$ $C_1jC_2C_3aC_4a$	/mifram/ 'meat grinding tool' /midrasi/ 'school' /mindara/ 'sitting room'	$C_1aC_2a:C_3ec_4$	$C_1VC_2V:C_3VC_4$	

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TABLE VIII
Noun 3

Reference No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C _i V:C ₂	C _i e:C ₂	/zen/ 'good'	/zen:i:n/	C _i eC ₂ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C _a
2	C _i VC ₂ C _a V:C _a	C _i aC ₂ C _a :C ₂	/gassas:i/ 'inquisitive'	/gassasin/	C _i aC ₂ C _a C ₂ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C _a VC ₂ i:n
3	C _i VC ₂ V:C ₃	C _i iC ₂ eC ₃	/furek/ 'smart'	/turkin/	C _i iC ₂ C ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ i:n
4	C _i C ₂ V:C ₃	C _i C _a i:C ₃	/mri:d/ 'a (religious) follower'	/mridin/	C _i C _a iC ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ i:n
5	C _i VC ₂ V:C ₃	C _i aC ₂ u:C ₃	/saby:r/ 'patient'	/sabyrin/	C _i aC ₂ uC ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ V _a VC ₃ i:n
6	C _i V:C ₂ VC ₃	C _i uC ₂ i:C ₃	/munir:/ 'lighted'	/munirin/	C _i uC ₂ iC ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ i:n
7	C _i VC ₂ V:C ₃ V	C _i aC ₂ eC ₃	/ba:red/ 'cold'	/bardin/	C _i aC ₂ eC ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ i:n
8	C _i VC ₂ VC ₃	C _i aC ₂ aC ₃ a	/xara:ba/ 'a humble) house'	/xarabin/	C _i aC ₂ aC ₃ a:i:n	C _i VC ₂ VC ₃ i:n
9	C _i VC ₂ VC ₃ V:C ₃	C _i aC ₂ eC ₃	/mayyet/ 'dead'	/maytin/	C _i aC ₂ eC ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ i:n
10	C _i VC ₂ VC ₃ V:C ₄	C _i aC ₂ C _a aC ₃	/jarray:/ 'speedy (in running)'	/jarrayin/	C _i aC ₂ C _a aC ₃ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ V _a VC ₄ i:n
11	C _i C ₂ VC ₃ VC ₄	C _i aC ₂ C _a C ₃ C ₄	/tahna:j/ 'spend thrift'	/tahmajin/	C _i aC ₂ C _a C ₃ C ₄ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ C _a C ₄ i:n
12	C _i C ₂ VC ₃ C ₄ VC ₄	C _i C _a aC ₃ C ₄	/marbur:s/ 'hasty'	/marbusin/	C _i aC ₂ C _a C ₃ C ₄ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ C _a C ₄ i:n
			/mzabibet/ 'dirty'	/mzabbitin/	C _i C _a aC ₃ C ₄ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ C _a C ₄ i:n
			/mhabbal/ 'foolish'	/mhabbalin/	C _i C _a aC ₃ C ₄ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ C _a C ₄ i:n
			/mzahander/ 'thriving'	/mzahtarin/	C _i C _a aC ₃ C ₄ C ₅ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ C _a C ₄ C ₅ i:n
			/mxarbat/ 'confused'	/mxarbatin/	C _i C _a aC ₃ C ₄ VC ₅ i:n	C _i VC ₂ C ₃ C _a C ₄ VC ₅ i:n

TABLE IX
Noun 4

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	
1	C ₁ V:C ₂	C ₁ i:C ₂	/di:b/ 'wolf'	/dy:a:bi/
2	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	/sabat/ 'basket'	C ₁ y:C ₂
3	C ₁ C ₂ :V:C ₃	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃	/ʃna:b/ 'a robust fellow'	C ₁ C ₂ iC ₃
4	C ₁ V:C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	/fa:sel/ 'worker'	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ i
				C ₁ VC ₂ Y:C ₃ i

TABLE X
Noun 5

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	
1	C ₁ V:C ₂	C ₁ eC ₂	/ge:t/ 'farm' /xa:l/ '(maternal) uncle'	/gita:n/ /xila:n/
		C ₁ a:C ₂	/hut/ 'big fish'	/titaa:n/
		C ₁ u:C ₂	/xo:r/ 'pond'	/xitaa:n/
		C ₁ o:C ₂	/jadi/ 'male goat'	/jadya:n/
2	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	/halag/ 'ear-rings'	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ a:n
3	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	/P̪simi/ 'a blind (fellow)'	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ a:n
4	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i	/ragi:f/ 'loaf'	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ a:n
5	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃	/xaruf/ 'lamb'	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ a:n
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃		

TABLE XI
Nom 6

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	/dab/ ¹ 'hyena' /sab/ ¹ 'lion' /sarik/ ¹ 'partner' /ga-dey/ ¹ 'judge'	/d _b q: ² sa/ /s _b ru: ² a/ /s _a raka/ /gu _d a/	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ a C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ a C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a C ₁ uC ₂ a	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃ a C ₁ YC ₃ V:C ₃ a C ₁ YC ₂ a
2	C ₁ VC ₂ Y:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃				
3	C ₁ Y:C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃				

TABLE XII
Adjective 2

Nominal Sub- Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N2(6)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ eC ₂ C ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	/gerd/ ¹ 'ugly' /sahn/ ¹ 'obliging' /sams/ ¹ 'sunny' /xori/ ¹ 'weak (in personality). /malek/ ¹ 'king' /P ₁ smi/ ¹ 'blind' /kabir/ ¹ 'great' /Sinsi:/ ¹ 'stout' /masti:/ ¹ 'absent minded' /P ₁ sturn/ ¹ '(very) smart'	/grud/ /sham/ /smu:s/ /xru: /mlu: /simay/ /kbar: /sanasi:/ /masati:/ /P ₁ saturn:/	C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ :C ₄ C ₁ VC ₂ Y:C ₄	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃
N2(7)	C ₁ VC ₂ YC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ eC ₃				
N5(4)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i				
N2(9)	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃				
N2(20)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₄	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i:C ₄ C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄ C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄				

TABLE XIII
Adjective 3

Nominal Sub-Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N4(1)	C ₁ V:C ₃	C ₁ i:C ₃	/di:b/ 'fierce'	/dy:a:bi/	C ₁ y:C ₃ i	C ₁ yY:C ₃ i
N4(3)	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃	/kɔ:g:n/ 'robust'	/kɔ:gnni/	C ₁ C ₂ iC ₃ C ₃ i	C ₁ C ₂ YC ₃ C ₃ i
N4(4)	C ₁ V:C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	/fa:sel/ 'hard working'	/fa:sel/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ i	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ i

TABLE XIV
Adjective 4

Nominal Sub-Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Form	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N6(1)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	/dɑ:bS/ 'greedy'	/dɒbə:Sə/	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ a	C ₁ C ₂ Y:C ₃ a
N1(3)	C ₁ C ₂ YC ₃	C ₁ C ₂ eC ₃	/sabS/ 'courageous'	/sbu:Sə/	C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ a	
N6(2)	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃	/bret/ 'clumsy'	/brɪtə/	C ₁ C ₂ iC ₃ C ₃ a	C ₁ C ₂ YC ₃ C ₃ a
			/karim/ 'generous'	/kɑ:rimə/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a	C ₁ VC ₂ YC ₃ a

TABLE XV
Verb I

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective					
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern		
Bi. Tri.	<i>C₁VC₂V</i> <i>C₁C₂VC₃</i>	<i>C₁aC₂i</i> <i>C₁C₂eC₃</i>	a	i	/mali/ 'filled' /qley/ 'went upward'	(a) (b)	/yimli/ /yiqli/	Ø i	<i>yic₁c₂i</i> <i>yic₁c₂i</i>	<i>yic₁c₂V</i>		
Bi.	<i>C₁VC₂</i>	<i>C₁aC₂</i>		a:	/qat/ 'protected'		/yitri/	i:	<i>yC₁i;C₂</i>	<i>yC₁V;C₂</i>		

MORPHEMICS

TABLE XVI
Verb 2

Type of Stem	Perfective					Imperfective					General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SII	SFL	Perfective Form	Form	SII	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern	
Mon. Bi.	C ₁ V	C ₁ i	i	/jii/ 'came'	/yiey/	e	yC ₁ ey	yC ₁ ey			
	C ₁ VC ₂	C ₁ aC ₂	a	/jad/ 'happened'	/yed/	e	yC ₁ ec ₂	yC ₁ VC ₂			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ V	C ₁ aC ₂ V	a	/fadi/ 'sacrificed'	/yifdey/	ø	yC ₁ ey	yC ₁ C ₂ ey			
	C ₁ aC ₂	C ₁ aC ₂ i	a	/rawa/ 'irrigated'	/yirwey/	ø	yC ₁ C ₂ ey	yC ₁ C ₂ ey			
	C ₁ aC ₂ i	C ₁ a:C ₂ a	a:	/ga:s/ 'suffered'	/ya:sey/	a:	yC ₁ a:C ₂ ey	yC ₁ a:C ₂ ey			
	C ₁ a:C ₂ a	C ₁ aC ₂ i	a:	/ra:da/ 'appeared'	/yra:dey/	a:	yC ₁ a:C ₂ ey	yC ₁ a:C ₂ ey			
Tri.	C ₁ YVC ₂ V	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ i	a	/seamni/ 'named'	/ysamnney/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ ey	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ ey			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₂	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a	a	/ramma/ 'threw'	/yrammey/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ ey	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ ey			
	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	a	/gasam/ 'divided'	/yigsem/	ø	yC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃	yC ₁ VC ₂ YC ₃			
	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	a:	/na:sas/ 'filled'	/yng:ses/	a:	yC ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	yC ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃			
	C ₁ O:C ₂ aC ₃	C ₁ O:C ₂ aC ₃	o:	/ho:sat/ 'surrounded'	/yhos:er/	o:	yC ₁ O:C ₂ eC ₃	yC ₁ O:C ₂ eC ₃			
	C ₁ a:C ₂ aC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ aC ₃	a:	/da:ga:t/ 'tried hard'	/ydu:ger/	a:	yC ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	yC ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃			
Quad	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₁ VC ₂	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₁ aC ₂	a	/karkar/ 'laughed'	/ykarker/	a	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₁ VC ₂	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₁ VC ₂			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ VC ₁	C ₁ aC ₂ VC ₁ aC ₁	a	/sabbas/ 'prepared secretly'	/ysabbes/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ eC ₁	yC ₁ VC ₂ VC ₁ VC ₁			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₂ VC ₂	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃	a	/zarrar/ 'buttoned'	/yzarrer/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ eC ₂	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₂			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₁ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₁ aC ₃	a	/galgas/ 'robbed'	/ygalges/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₁ eC ₃	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₁ VC ₃			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₃ VC ₁	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₁	a	/sabras/ 'went quickly'	/ysabres/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ eC ₁	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₁			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ VC ₃	a	/satraf/ 'arranged'	/ysattef/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃	yC ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃			
Quint.	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₃	a	/se:lal/ 'caught fire'	/ysa:qiel/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ eC ₃	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃			
	C ₁ YVC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₄	a	/gasmaz/ 'sat'	/ygas:mez/	a	yC ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ eC ₄	yC ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄			

TABLE XVII
Verb 3

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective					
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	General Pattern	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern		
Bi.	C ₁ YC ₂ V	C ₁ aC ₂ a	a	a	/jara/ 'happened'	/yijra/	ø	a	yC ₁ C ₂ a	yC ₁ C ₂ V		
Tri.	C ₁ C ₂ eC ₃	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃		e	/greb/ 'got nearer'	/yigrab/		a	yC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃	yC ₁ C ₂ V		
	C ₁ VC ₂ aC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	a	a	/gataq/ 'cut'	/yigtaq/	ø	a	yC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃	yC ₁ C ₂ V		

TABLE XVIII
Verb 4

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective					
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	General Pattern	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern		
Bi.	C ₁ Y:C ₂	C ₁ aC ₃	a:		/la:r/ 'waked'	/yu:r/		u:	yC ₁ u:C ₂	yC ₁ Y:C ₂		

TABLE XIX
Verb 5

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective					
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	General Pattern	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern		
Bi.	C ₁ YC ₂	C ₁ aC ₂	a		/ṣad/ 'bit'	/yṣad/		o	yC ₁ oC ₂	yC ₁ YC ₂		
Tri.	C ₁ VC ₂ aC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	a	a	/ṣabat/ 'arrested'	/yṣabat/	ø	o	yC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃	yC ₁ C ₂ V		

10. PRONOUNS

10.1.

Subject and non-subject pronouns are discussed in 9.3.3.1.2, 9.3.3.1.3, 9.3.3.1.4, 9.3.3.1.5 above.

10.2.

The following are the pronouns which occur as free forms and may occur as one-word sentences.

		<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
3.m.s.	hú:	h-	-u:	-
3.f.s.	hí:	h-	-i:	-
2.m.s.	Pínti	Pint-	-i	-
2.f.s.	Píntey	Pint-	-ey	-
1 s.	Páni	Pani-	-Ø	-
3 pl.	húmma	h-	-	-umma
2 pl.	Píntow	Pint-	-	-ow
1 pl.	Píñni	Piñn-	-	-i

Final /-i/ alternates with /-a/, final /-ey/ with /-i/, final /-ow/ with /-u/ before or at the loss of /+/. Examples:

- /Pinta muxlęs/ ‘you (m.s.) are sincere’
/Pinti ša:tṛa/ ‘you (f.s.) are smart’
/Pintu suʃña:n/ ‘you (pl.) are courageous’

11. PRONOMINALS

11.1.

General characteristic: filling the subject slot in verbal and non-verbal sentences.

11.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

(1) /da/ 'this' and /da:k/ 'that' occur freely before and after members of other form classes, in post- and pre-junctural positions. /da/ has the alternant /di/ before major juncture. /da:k/ occurs in close transition with pronominal free forms in the following shapes:

3.m.s.	da:k [~] hu:	dakka:
3.f.s.	hi:	dikki:
3 pl.	humma	dokkumma

Occurrence of /da:k/ in close transition with other pronominal free forms is rare in the idiolects described in this study.

(2) /Padi/ 'this' (seen object), and /Pawwi:n/ 'that' (seen object) when uninflected, occur before nouns. When inflected for allocation, /Padi/ and /Pawwi:n/ occur before nouns, pronominal free forms, nominal and prepositional phrases and constructs. Only when inflected, /Padi/ and /Pawwi:n/ occur as one-word sentences.

/Padi/ has the alternants /Pada-/ when in close transition with pronominal free forms and /Padi:-/ when inflected for allocation.

11.3. INTERROGATIVES

/ke:/	'how' or 'like' (shape)
/kad/	'as much as' or 'like' (size)
/ka:m/	'how many'
/Pe:/	'what'
/mi:n/	'who'
/me:ti/	'when'
/le:/	'why'
/we:n/	'where'

- (1) Interrogatives occur:
- prejuncturally,
 - initially in interrogative sentences,
 - as one-word sentences, with the exception of /Pinn-/ which occurs in close transition with the following pronominal free forms.

/Pinnhu:/ ‘which one (m.s.)?’

/Pinnhi:/ ‘which one (f.s.)?’

/Pinnhumma/ ‘which ones (pl.)?’

- (2) /we:n/ is inflected for allocation (e.g., /we:nu/ ‘where is he?’).

- (3) /kad/ occurs initially in questions including /ka:m/, /?e:/ or /mi:n/. Examples:

/kad ka:m wad jow/ ‘about how many boys came?’

/kad ?e:t mi:n ?e:tak/ ‘like whose field is yours (m.s.)?’

- (4) The following sequences of two interrogatives have been observed.

- /ke: ?e:/ ‘like what?’
- /ke: mi:n/ ‘like whom?’
- /ka:m ?e:/ ‘how many what?’
- /we:n ?e:/ ‘where what?’
- /we:n mi:n/ ‘where who?’

- (5) /ke:/ functions as a linker in the environment noun + ke: + noun (e.g., /hsa:n ke: lbarg/ ‘a horse like lightning (i.e., speedy)').

- (6) /ke:/, /me:ti/, /le:/, /we:n/ function as adverbs when occurring in post verbal position: /ruht we:n/ ‘where did you (m.s.) go?’

11.4.

The relative /?illey/ ‘who’, ‘which’, ‘that’, ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’ (1) occurs in initial position in syntactic structures of which /?illey/ is immediate constituent; (2) does not occur with sentence pitch peak.

12. PARTICLES

Particles — as distinct from nouns and verbs — do not contain the immediate constituents: a consonantal root and a vocalic pattern.

Sub-classes of particles:

12.1. PREPOSITIONS

(1) Prepositions are inflected for allocation by the same set of pronominal suffixes which indicates allocation with the nouns.

(2) Prepositions, inflected or uninflected, may occur before (a) definite or indefinite nouns, (b) nominal phrases.

(3) Prepositions inflected for allocation occur before pronominal free forms and as one-word sentences.

(4) Prepositions may be divided into two sub-groups on the basis of distribution of uninflected prepositional forms.

12.1.1. Sub-group I

Members do not occur pre-juncturally, and normally do not occur with sentence pitch peak. They occur before nouns, nominal constructs and phrases, and interrogatives.

/bi-/	'with'
/fi-/	'in'
/fend/	'at'
/fali/	'on'
/men/	'from'
/mfa/	'together with'
/li-/	'to'

(1) /men/ and /li-/ occur before prepositions of sub-group 2:

/min jamb/	'by (the) side'
/lafo:g/	'upwards'

but not before other members of sub-group 1.

(2) /-i-/ in /bi-/, /fi-/, /li-/ is dropped when in close transition with a sequence beginning with CV-, and alternates with /-i:/ when inflected for allocation. Examples:

/byade:/	'with his hands'
/fbe:tu/	'in his house'
/lwaladu/	'to his son'
/bi:hom/	'with them'
/fi:hom/	'in them'
/li:hom/	'to them'

(3) /li-/ has the allomorph /la-/ when in close transition with a following member of sub-group 2:

/lawara/ 'backward'.

(4) /Sali/ has the allomorph /sa-/ before the definite article /Pil-/:

/Salkursey/ 'on the chair'.

(5) /-i/ in /Sali/ alternates with /-e:/ and /-n/ in /men/ is reduplicated when inflected for allocation:

/Sale:hom/	'on them'
/minnak/	'from you (m.s.)'.

12.1.2. Sub-group 2

Members may occur pre-juncturally, with sentence pitch peak, and with the same privileges of occurrence as members of sub-group 1 (but not before them or before other members of sub-group 2), with the exception of /be:n/ which occurs before other members of sub-group 2.

/taht/	'under'
/be:n/	'between'
/gidda:m/	'in front of'
/fo:g/	'on', 'above'
/jamb/	'beside'
/wara/	'behind'

All members of sub-group 2 may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun. Example:

/gidda:m Pañsan min wara/
'(to be) in front is better than (to be) behind'.

12.2. LIMITING PARTICLES

/kol/	'all', 'each'
/bañd/	'some'

/Pay/	'any'
/ħawale:n/	'about'
/Silya:t/	'most'

(1) All limiting particles are inflected for allocation:

/kullkom/	'all of you'
/baħdhom/	'some of them'

(2) /kol/, /baħd/, /Silya:t/ are inflected for definiteness:

/lbaħd ji/	'some came'
------------	-------------

(3) /Pay/ is inflected for allocation by plural pronominal suffixes:

/Payyhom/	'any of them'
/Payykom/	'any of you'
/Payyni/	'any of us'

(4a) /kol/ occurs before definite and indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/kol ra:jel/	'each man'
/kol Pirrija:li/	'all (the) men'

(4b) /baħd/ occurs before definite and indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/baħd lħadi:d/	'some iron'
/baħd lkutob/	'some (of) the books'
/baħd kutob/	'some books'
/baħd tra:b/	'some dust'.

(4c) /Pay/ occurs before indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/Pay kta:b/	'any book'
/Pay mara:kəb/	'any sailing boats'.

(4d) /ħawale:n/ occurs before definite and indefinite dual nouns as well as cardinal numerical adjectives, definite or indefinite:

/ħawale:n rätle:n/	'about two pounds'
/ħawale:n xamasta:šer rätl/	'about fifteen pounds'
/ħawale:n lxaħħesta:šer rätl/	'about (the) fifteen pounds'.

(4e) /Silya:t/ occurs before definite singular and plural nouns:

/Silya:t lgamħ/	'most of the wheat'
/Silya:t liħsinni/	'most of the horses'

12.3. LINKERS

/bas/	'only'
/la ... wala/	'neither ... nor'

/Pilli/	'except'
/ge:r/	'other than'
/laki:n/	'but'
/wi/	'and'
/walli/	'or'
/ya ... ya/	'either ... or'

Linkers (1) do not occur before major juncture,¹ or with sentence pitch peak;

- (2) link nouns, verbs, pronouns, phrases, clauses, sentences;
- (3) are uninflected, with the exception of /ge:r/ (allocation).
- (4) /wi/ has the allomorph /w-/ before sequences beginning with CV-.

12.4. SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

/bañd/	'after'
/gabl/	'before'
/kullma:/	'whenever'
/Salaša:n/	'because'
/law/	'if'
/lammi/	'when'

- (1) Only /bañd/, /gabl/, and /law/, occur before // and /#/.
- (2) /bañd/, /gabl/ and /Salaša:n/ are inflected for allocation.
- (3) All conjunctions may occur with sentence pitch peak.
- (4) /bañd/ and /gabl/ may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun:

/gabl Pañsan min bañd/
'(to be) before (e.g., arrival of plane) is better than (to be) after it'.

12.5. ADVERBS

/bərd/	'also'
/bərra/	'outside'
/brəb/	'perhaps'
/dilwak/	'now'
/kama:n/	'moreover'
/kdi/	'thus'

¹ /bas/, however, may occur before major junctures:

² /Píštarə tálat kará:si bás #/
³ 'he bought three chairs only'

/gawey/	'very'
/sa:ley/	'always'
/juwwa/	'inside'
/xa:les/	'much'
/hni/	'here'
/hna:k/	'there'
/wə:səl/	'at all', 'altogether'

(1) All adverbs occur (a) pre-juncturally, (b) as one-word sentences, (c) modifying verbs and adjectives by position before or after the verb or the adjective.

(2) /bərd/ /barra/ and /juwwa/ are inflected for allocation in which case final /-a/ alternates with /-a:-/:

/bərrə:həm/ 'outside them'

(3) /barra/ and /juwwa/ may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun:

/bərrə Pazfat min juwwa/

'(to be) outside (e.g., a congested hall in warm weather) is worse than (to be) inside'

12.6.

The emphatic particle /ma/ occurs in initial position of the sentence, normally in close transition with the following item.

12.7.

The negative particle /miš/ has the variant /-šey/ which occurs suffixed to verbal forms. /miš/ does not occur before major junctures.

12.8.

/Pa:/ 'yes' and /la:wəl/ 'no' occur initially in the sentence, before /l/ and may occur as one-word sentences.

12.9.

/ya/, the vocative particle fills the predicate slot in a vocative sentence or the modifier slot in a vocative phrase. /ya/ does not co-occur with sentence pitch peak.



PART III

SYNTAX

}



13. sagi:di SYNTACTIC UNITS

13.1. THE SENTENCE

- (1) Consists of one word, phrase, clause or a sequence of these units occurring with a minimum of one intonation contour ending with either /||/ or /#/.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /||/ or /#/ or after one and before another of these two junctures with or without intervening single bar(s).

13.2. THE CLAUSE

- (1) Consists of one word, phrase or a sequence of these units occurring with one intonation contour ending with /|/, /||/ or /#/.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /|/ or after /|/ and before /|/, /||/ or /#/.
- (3) May be linked phonologically and/or lexically with clause(s) within the sentence.

13.3. THE PHRASE

- (1) Consists of two or more words, one of which is a head, the other(s) is modifier(s), in endocentric relationship, interrupted by /+/ with two or more primary stresses.
- (2) May fill the subject, object, predicate, or predicator slot in the sentence or the modifier or adverb slot in the phrase, clause or sentence.

13.4. THE WORD

- (1) Is a unit consisting minimally of CV, with one primary stress.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /+/, between two pluses, between /+/ and a major juncture, after /||/ and before /#/ , in which case the word constitutes a one-word clause.

13.5.

The clause, the phrase and the word may constitute a sentence by occurrence with a pitch contour ending with /||/ or /#/.

13.6. ABBREVIATIONS

aux	= auxiliary	op	= object pronoun
adj	= adjective	P	= predicate
adv	= adverb	PLN	= negative particle
adv P	= adverbial phrase	Pred	= predictor
DCl	= dependent clause	Prep	= preposition
PLE	= emphatic particle	Prep P	= prepositional phrase
H	= head	Sn1	= declarative non-verbal sentence
ICl	= independent clause	Sn1v	= verb-type transform of Sn1
int	= intensifier	Sn2	= vocative sentence.
M	= modifier	sp	= subject pronoun
n	= indefinite noun	Sv1	= declarative verbal sentence
NCt	= nominal construct	Sv2	= imperative sentence
ND	= definite noun	VCt	= verbal construct
NP	= nominal phrase	voc. pl.	= vocative particle
O	= object		

14. TYPES OF səfi:di PHRASES

14.1.

Classified on the basis of the types of phrase heads:

- (1) The adjectival phrase:

adj + int

- (2) The adverbial phrase:

adv + adv

adv + n ~ ND

adv + adj

- (3) The prepositional phrase:

prep + adv } function as adverbials when
prep + n + ND } modifying an adjective or verb

- (4) The verbal phrase:

verb + adverb

verb (aux) + verb

- (5) The nominal phrase:

1 $NP_1 \rightarrow n + n$ } in genitival relationship; the
 n + ND } noun head is definite by position
 n + NCt
2 $NP_2 \rightarrow n + adj$
 ND + adj
 adj + ND
 NCt + adj
 adj + NCt
 $NP_1 + adj$
 ($NP_1 \rightarrow n + n$)
3 $NP_3 \rightarrow n + NP_2$
 ($NP_2 \rightarrow NCt + adj$)
 ND + NP_2
 ($NP_2 \rightarrow NCt + adj$)
 ND + ND} in appositive relationship

- (6) /Pilley/-phrase, in which the relative /Pilley/ fills the head slot.

14.2.

The following observations may be made on the types of phrases:

- (1) Nouns may be singular or plural.
- (2) Slot sequence in NP_1 and NP_3 is rigid.
- (3) The head slot is first in position with the exception in NP_2 of the slot sequence $M + H$ where the less rigid slot sequence of NP_2 permits the head to occupy the second position.
- (4) The head in NP_1 is unexpandable, whereas the modifier is expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase.
- (5) The head in NP_2 is expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase; the modifier is expandable by intensifiers.
- (6) The head and the modifier in NP_3 are expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase. /Pilley/-phrase, however, does not occur in NP_3 after a head of the type n.
- (7) Slot sequence in /Pilley/-phrase is rigid; the modifier slot may be filled by:
 - (a) adjectives,
 - (b) verbs
 - (c) verb (Pred) + noun (O)
 - (d) verbal, adjectival, adverbial, prepositional and nominal (NP_2) phrases.
- (8) The vocative phrase consists of a head (noun or NP_1) and modifier (the vocative particle /ya/).

14.3.

Types of *səq̩i:di* constructs (construct = stem + pronominal affix(es)):

- (1) Nominal construct (NCt): noun + non-subject pronoun (allocation) (e.g., /kta:bu/ 'his book').
- (2) Verbal construct (VCt):
 - (a) VCt1 verb stem + subject pronoun /kal^{at}/ 'she ate'
 - (b) VCt2 verb stem + subject pronoun + non-subject pronoun (object) (e.g., /katab^{at}^u/ 'she wrote it (m.)').
- (3) Prepositional construct: preposition + non-subject pronoun (allocation) (e.g., /li:^{kom}/ 'to you (pl.)'). A prepositional construct may function as adverbial when it modifies an adjective or a verb. Examples:

/lmahiyya ze:na ŋale:k/
 'the salary is good for you (m.s.)'
 /gaſad ŋindhom/ 'he stayed with them'.

15. TYPES OF səñi:di CLAUSES

15.1.

The independent clause: phonologically linked — with or without a linking particle — with other clause(s) in the sentence (see 13.1 and 13.2 above).

15.2.

The dependent clause: lexically linked with other clause(s) in the sentence by a subordinating conjunction.

16. MAJOR SENTENCE TYPES IN *səfi:di*

The major sentence types in *səfi:di* are:

- (1) The non-verbal sentence
- (2) The verbal sentence.

Types of the non-verbal sentence:

- (1) The declarative non-verbal sentence
- (2) The vocative sentence.

16.1. THE DECLARATIVE NON-VERBAL SENTENCE (Sn1)

- (1) Spoken normally with a rising-falling or rising-returning intonation contour.
- (2) Has two slots: subject (S) + predicate (P).

16.1.1. *Subtypes of Sn1*

On the basis of the types of fillers of the predicate slot.

- (1) Sn1a. With a noun or a nominal as the filler of the predicate slot. Examples:

(a) / ² ná:zer ³ mídrasi ¹ #/ 'headmaster'

n	n
S	P
<u>Sn1a</u>	

(b) / ² ráyyes ³ lmírkab ¹ #/ 'the skipper of the sailing boat'

n	ND
S	P
<u>Sn1a</u>	

(c) / ² lgawá:leb ³ dokkúmma ¹ #/ 'those bricks'

ND	demonstrative (pl.)
S	P
<u>Sn1a</u>	

- (d) /²?innésr málík ?itté:r ³₁ #/ 'the eagle is the king of birds'
- | | | |
|------|-----------------|----|
| ND | n | ND |
| ↑ | NP ₁ | |
| S | P | |
| Sn1a | | |

- (e) /²liktá:b sadí:g mýxles ³₁ #/ 'the book is a sincere friend'
- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----|
| ND | n | adj |
| ↑ | NP ₂ | |
| S | P | |
| Sn1a | | |

(2) Sn1b. With adjective or adjectival as the filler of the predicate slot. Examples:

- (a) /²bágara bέ:da ³₁ #/ 'a white cow'
- | | |
|------|-----|
| n | adj |
| S | P |
| Sn1b | |

- (b) /²tillí:s lgálla Pílli štaré:tu ³₁ #/ /Pílley-/phrase (adjectival)
- | | | |
|-----------------|----|------------------------------|
| n | ND | /Pílley-/phrase (adjectival) |
| NP ₁ | ↓ | ↓ |
| S | | P |
| Sn1b | | |
- 'the sack of grain which I bought'

(3) Sn1c. With adverbial phrase as the filler of the predicate slot. Example:

- /²lwád sá:li ná:jeh ³₁ #/ 'the boy is always successful'
- | | | |
|------|-------|-----|
| ND | adv | adj |
| ↓ | adv P | |
| S | P | |
| Sn1c | | |

(4) Sn1d. With prepositional phrase as the filler of the predicate slot. Example:

- /²háflet gábl lmígréb ³₁ #/ 'the ceremony before sunset'
- | | | |
|------|--------|----|
| n | prep | ND |
| ↓ | prep P | |
| S | P | |
| Sn1d | | |

16.1.2. Fillers of the subject slot in Sn1

- (1) Nouns
- (2) Pronominal free forms
- (3) Pronominals
- (4) NP₁, NP₃
- (5) an /?illey/-phrase
- (6) Nominal and prepositional constructs

16.1.3. Reversibility of slots in Sn1

Sn1b of the type S(ND)+P(adj) and Sn1d of the type S(ND)+P(prep P) can be spoken with the order of S + P reversed. The decision of assigning the constituents in this case is based on the following observations:

- (1) Sentence pitch peak in Sn1 falls on the filler of the predicate slot or one of its constituents.
- (2) When the order of slots is reversed, the sentence pitch peak moves back with the predicate slot. Examples:

/ ²Ibágara ³bé:dá ¹#/ ‘the cow is white’
 S P

/ ²³bé:dá ¹Ibágara #/ ‘white is the cow’
 P S

16.1.4. Slot expansions in Sn1

- 16.1.4.1. The following example is a minimal manifestation of Sn1.

/ ²?íddyá:r maskú:ni ³¹#/ ‘the houses are occupied’

The subject may be expanded to

B₂ B₁ A₁ A₂ A₃ A₄ A₅
 /bá:fd Pissét dyá:r ?íttú:b lwá:tyá gáwi dokkúmma | ?illi giddá:mak/
 ‘some of these six low brick houses in front of you (m.s.)’

- 16.1.4.2. The following observations may be made on the head-modifier positional relationship in the subject slot (pre-head positions are marked B, post-head positions are marked A):

- (1) Position B₁ is occupied by cardinals, with the exception of /wa:ħed/ ‘one’, which occupies position A₁. Cardinals from 2-10 may occupy position A₁ (in which case they agree with the noun head in definiteness). — Ordinals up to the ‘tenth’ occupy position B₁ or A₁.
- (2) Position B₂ is occupied by limiting modifiers.
- (3) Positions A₁ and A₂ are occupied (without rigidity of order) by (a) nominal

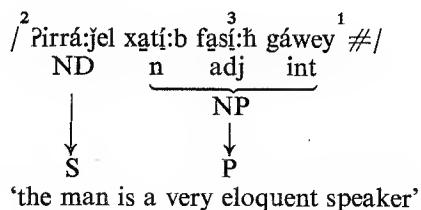
modifiers (b) adjectives other than numerals. — Nominal modifiers do not show agreement with the noun head.

- (4) Position A₃ is occupied by intensifiers.
- (5) Position A₄ is occupied by demonstratives which agree with the noun head in gender and number.
- (6) Position A₅ is occupied by modifying phrases, an /Pilley/-phrase or a prepositional phrase.

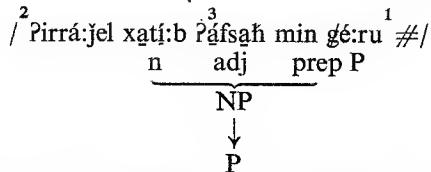
16.1.4.2.1. The subject slot in Sn1 may be expanded by linking more than one nominal with /wi/, /ya ... ya/, /la ... wala/, /laki:n/.

16.1.4.3. Expansion of the predicate slot in Sn1.

- (1) If the predicate slot is filled by an indefinite noun it may be expanded by
 - (a) adj + intensifier. Example:

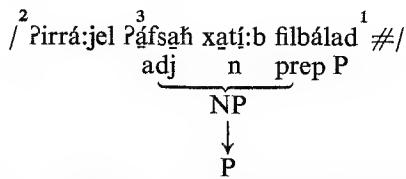


- (b) Comparative adjective or a phrase of comparison. Example:



'the man is a more eloquent speaker than others'

- (c) Adjective in the superlative degree, in which case the adjective and the noun head reverse positions. The noun head may or may not be followed by a prepositional phrase. Example:



'the man is the most eloquent speaker in the town'

- (2) The predicate slot may be expanded by the usage of the linkers: /wa/, /ya ... ya/, /la ... wala/, /laki:n/.

16.1.5. *The expression of time in Sn1*

- (1) Present time is expressed by Sn1.

(2) Past time is expressed in Sn1 by /ka:n/ 'was' occurring in pre-predicative position. Sn1 is the kernel of its verb-type transform. This verbalizing transformation may be represented by the formula:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Sn1} + /ka:n/ &\rightarrow \text{Sn1v} \\ \text{Sn1v} &\rightarrow S + ka:n + P \end{aligned}$$

Examples:

Sn1 /²Pamwa:lu ³katí:ri ¹#/
'his wealth is great'

/²Pamwá:lu ³ká:nat ¹katí:ri #/
'his wealth was great'

(3) Few instances of Sn1 have no /ka:n/-transform. Example:

/²lSá:gba ³síndkom ¹#/
'a greeting on happy occasions'

16.2. THE VOCATIVE SENTENCE (Sn2: P + S)

(1) Sn2 has a predicate slot filled by the vocative particle /ya/, and a subject slot which may be filled by: (a) a noun, (b) NP₁ (c) an /Pilley/-phrase.

(2) Sn2 normally occurs with a rising-returning intonation contour. Example:

/²yá ³sá:mey ²#/
voc. pl. ND
P S

Sn2

(3) The vocative particle occurs

(a) initially in Sn2;

(b) after the verb in an imperative sentence (e.g., /gú:l | ²yá wád ³#/
speaking, boy!) in which case the vocative sentence is phonologically downgraded;

(c) in the modifier slot in a vocative phrase which fills the object slot in an imperative sentence (e.g., /gú:l ²yá wád ³#/
'call (2.m.s.) the boy');

(d) after the verb in a declarative verbal sentence in which the vocative phrase fills the object slot (e.g., /gúlt ²yá wád ³#/
'I called the boy');

(e) after the verb in an interrogative verbal sentence (e.g., /kált | ²yá wád ³#/
'did you eat?', addressing a boy).

16.2.1. *Expansion of the subject slot in Sn2*

- (a) by an /Pilley/-phrase, (b) by NP₁.

16.3. THE VERBAL SENTENCE

16.3.1. *Subtypes*

- (a) the declarative verbal sentence, (b) the imperative sentence.

16.3.2. *The declarative verbal sentence (Sv1)*

- (1) Has two obligatory slots: (S)ubject and (Pred)icator and one optional slot: (O)bject.
 (2) Is normally spoken with a rising-falling intonation pattern.
 (3) The following is a minimal manifestation of Sv1

/ ²_{kálow} ³_# / 'they ate'

which consists of a verb in the perfective aspect inflected for subject reference.

16.3.2.1. Slot fillers in Sv1.

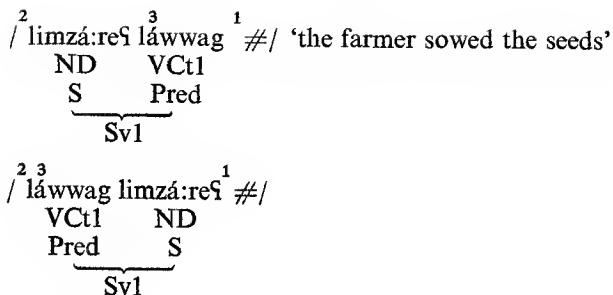
- (1) *The subject slot:*
- (a) nouns
 - (b) pronominal free forms
 - (c) subject pronouns
 - (d) pronominals
 - (e) NP₁, NP₂, and NP₃
 - (f) /Pilley/-phrase
 - (g) nominal and prepositional constructs.
- (2) *The object slot:*
- (a) direct object (object 1): 1. nouns, 2. object pronouns, 3. pronominals, 4. NP₁, NP₂, NP₃, 5. /Pilley/-phrase, 6. vocative phrases.
 - (b) indirect object (object 2)¹: 1. nouns, 2. NP₁, NP₂, 3. NCt.
- (3) The predicate slot
- (a) Verbal constructs
 - (b) Verbal phrases

16.3.2.2. Order of slots in Sv1

- (1) Normally: S + Pred + O
 (2) S and Pred may reverse positions. Example:

¹ A declarative verbal sentence may include a predicator which takes two objects e.g.,

/ ²_{Iwád} ³_{qát̪a} ¹_{Paxú: jawá:b} # /
 'the boy gave his brother a letter'.



The assignment of the constituents in this case is based on:

- (a) the position of the sentence pitch peak when the order is reversed is on the predicator; when the order is normal it may or may not fall on the predicator;
- (b) the types of slot fillers.
- (3) The object occurs in post-predicator position whether the predicator is post-subjectival or initial.
- (4) In one case slot order in Sv1 is unchangeable: when Sv1 is one word, (VCt2), the constituents of which are:

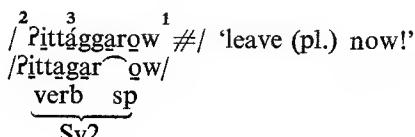
Sv1		
Pred	S	O
verb	subj pronoun	obj pronoun
sa:mañ-	-at-	u
/ sá:mañatu ¹ / / 'she forgave him'		

16.3.2.3. Expansion of slots in Sv1

- (1) The subject slot: expandable as in Sn1
- (2) The predicator: expandable by usage of any of the auxiliaries
 - (a) /ka:n/ 'was'
 - (b) /yimken/ 'may'
 - (c) an adverb or adverbial phrase
 - (d) /ra:yeh/ 'going to'
- (3) The object: expandable only if a noun, as with the subject.

16.4. THE IMPERATIVE SENTENCE: (Sv2)

- 16.4.1. (1) The following example is a minimal manifestation of the imperative sentence:



- (2) Sv2 has two obligatory slots:

Pred + S +
one optional:
O.

- (3) Sv2 is normally spoken with a rising-falling intonation pattern.

16.4.2. *Slot fillers in Sv2*

- (1) The predicator slot: verbs inflected for the imperative mood.
- (2) The subject slot: subject pronouns (2.m.s., 2.f.s., 2 pl.).
- (3) The object slot: (a) object pronouns, (b) pronominals (demonstrative), (c) nouns, (d) NP₁, NP₂ or NP₃, (e) an /Pilley/-phrase.

16.4.3. *Slot expansion in Sv2*

- (1) The predicator may be expanded by
 - (a) an adverb

/ ²_{Pijri} ³_{gawá:m} ¹_# / ‘run (2.m.s.) quickly!’
 pred adv

in which case the subject slot is unexpandable.

- (b) a prepositional phrase

/ ²_{dáldel} ³_{min} ¹_{fó:g #} / ‘throw (2.m.s.) (e.g., the rope) from above!’
 pred prep _{adv}
 prep P

- (2) The object is expandable

- (a) if a pronominal, by /Pilley/-phrase

/ ²_{ší:l} ³_{dakká:} ¹_{Pilli fissandú:g #} / ‘carry (2.m.s.) that (m.) which is in the box!’
 pred demon- _{/Pilley/-phrase}
 strative
O

- (b) if a noun, as in the subject slot in Sn1.

17. NEGATION

17.1. THE DECLARATIVE NON-VERBAL SENTENCE

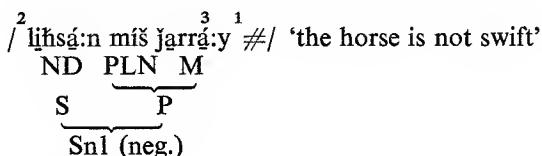
There are two negative particles in s₂S₁:di:

- (1) a. /miš/ 'not'
b. /ma/ (emphatic particle) ... /-sey/ suffix allomorph of /miš/
- (2) /la ... wala/ 'neither ... nor'.

17.2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE

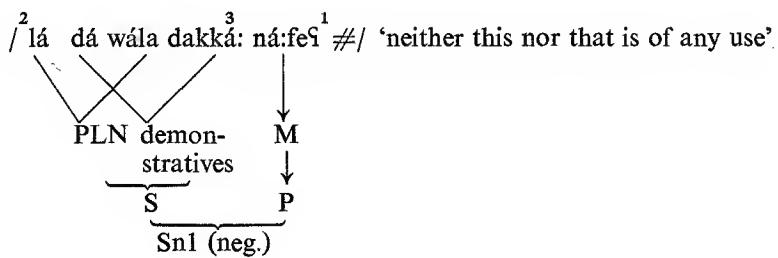
In S_{n1}:

- (a) /miš/ occurs in pre-predicative position without any restriction as to the type of predicate:

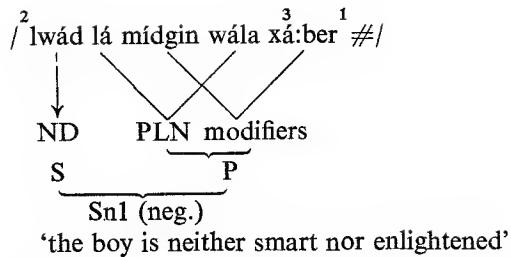


- (b) /la ... wala/ occurs with

1. a multiple subject

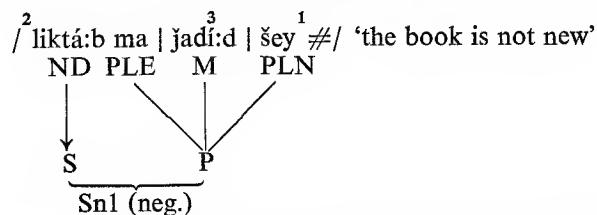


2. a multiple predicate

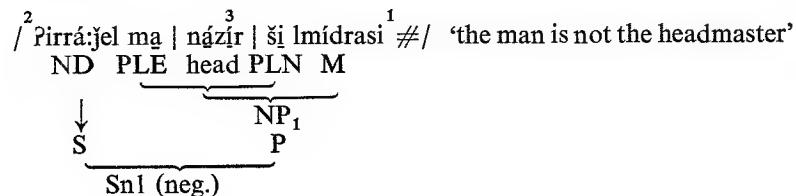


(c) /-šey/, the allomorph of /miš/, occurs as a suffix with all form classes. /ma/, the emphatic particle, may precede an item which is suffixed by /-šey/, according to the following patterns:

1. if the predicate is one word it occurs between /ma/ and /-šey/:



2. if the predicate is an NP, the head occurs between /ma/ and /-šey/:



- (d) The adverb /wá:sel/ 'at all' occurs only in negative predicates in post-adjectival position. /wá:sel/ presupposes /miš/ or /ma/ and /-šey/:

/²?íšaggá:l maradí:ší ³wá:sel ¹#/ 'the worker does not accept (the offer) at all'

- (e) /ka:n/ occurs with /-šey/ preceded or unpreceded by /ma/.

17.3. NEGATION IN Sv1 AND Sv2

- (1) /-šey/ preceded or unpreceded by /ma/ occurs with the predicator:

Sv1 /²lkálb mäħassálši ³lzádmá ¹#/

 /²lkálb ħassálši lzádmá ¹#/

'the dog did not reach the bone'

- Sv2 /² matakíši dhá:n¹ #/
 /₂³ takilší dhá:n¹ #/
 'do not (2.m.s.) eat fat!'

(2) /la ... wala/ occurs with multiple predators:

- Sv1 /² Pittilmí:z lá kátab | wála gára nhárdi¹ #/
 'the student neither wrote nor read today'
 Sv2 /² lá titláddat | wála tháyyes¹ #/
 'do not (2.m.s.) talk or make noise!'

(3) In Sv1 with multiple subject /la ... wala/ occurs with the subject:

- /² lá ³dí:b | wála sselí:k hní¹ #/
 'there is neither a wolf nor a fox here'

(4) In Sv1 and Sv2 with multiple object /la/ occurs in pre-predicator position and /wala/ occurs before each constituent noun or phrase of the object:

- Sv1 /² lワd lá šrèb wála lában | wála dáwa¹ #/
 'the boy drank neither milk nor medicine'
 Sv2 /² lá twássex wála kútba:tak | wála xalagá:tak¹ #/
 'make (2.m.s.) neither your books nor your clothes dirty!'

(5) With one word Sv1 and Sv2 /šey/ and the combination /ma/ and /šey/ occur in free variation:

- Sv1 /² ³fhimšey¹ #/ 'he did not understand'
 /² ³mafhimšey¹ #/
 Sv2 /² tilgábšey¹ #/ 'do not (2.m.s.) play!'
 /² matilgábšey¹ #/

18. INTERROGATION

18.1.

Interrogation in *səSi:di* is signalled by

- (1) Suprasegmental changes
- (2) Segmental signals
- (3) Suprasegmental changes and segmental signals
- (4) Suprasegmental changes and changes in slot position.

18.2.

Sn1, 2 and *Sv1, 2* are made interrogative by:

- (1) Change in intonation pattern. In *Sn1, 2* and *Sv1, 2* from rising-falling or rising-returning to rising:

Sn1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{l}} \overset{3}{\text{halazó:na}} \overset{1}{\text{mittáxxri}} \# / \text{ 'the bus is late'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{l}} \overset{3}{\text{halazó:na}} \overset{3}{\text{mittáxxri}} \| / \text{ 'is the bus late?'} \end{array} \right.$

Sn1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{bá:rdi}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'cold (f.s.)'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{bá:rdi}} \overset{3}{\|} / \text{ 'is it (f.) cold?' } \end{array} \right.$

Sv1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lgúton}} \overset{3}{\text{náwwar}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the cotton blossomed'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{lgúton}} \overset{3}{\text{náwwar}} \overset{3}{\|} / \text{ 'did the cotton blossom?' } \end{array} \right.$

Sv1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{hayízmag}} \overset{3}{\overset{1}{\#}} / \text{ 'he will be angry'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{hayízmag}} \overset{3}{\|} / \text{ 'will he be angry?' } \end{array} \right.$

Sn2 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{yá}} \overset{3}{\text{daššá:}} \overset{2}{\#} / \text{ 'you (m.s.) greedy fellow!'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{yá}} \overset{3}{\text{daššá:}} \overset{3}{\|} / \text{ '(are you) calling me greedy?' (reiterated question)} \end{array} \right.$

Sv2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{Pírmi}} \overset{3}{\text{ktá:bak}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'throw (2.m.s.) away your book!'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{Pírmi}} \overset{3}{\text{ktá:bak}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ '(are you telling me to) throw away my book?'} \end{array} \right.$
-----	--

(2) Sn1 and Sv1 may be made interrogative by the usage of any of the interrogatives, in which case the change in the intonation to the rising pattern may or may not occur. If it occurs, it signals a reiterated question:

Sn1	$/ \overset{2}{\text{wé:n}} \overset{3}{\text{ráyyes}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'where is your (m.s.) boss?}'$
Sv1	$/ \overset{2}{\text{wé:n}} \overset{3}{\text{gálmaz}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'where did the child sit?}'$

The interrogative may occur in initial position in Sn1 and Sv1, in final position in Sn1, in pre- or post-predicator position or in final position in Sv1.

(3) Sn1 and Sv1 may be interrogative by change in intonation pattern and in slot order:

Sn1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{líslá:wa}} \overset{3}{\text{malyá:ni}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the jar is full'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \text{P} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{malyá:na}} \overset{3}{\text{líslá:wa}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'is the jar full?'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{P} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$
Sv1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lkálb}} \overset{3}{\text{hábašu}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the dog bit him'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \text{Pred} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{hábašu}} \overset{3}{\text{lkálb}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'did the dog bite him?' } \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$
Sn1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lhá:res}} \overset{3}{\text{sahrá:n}} \overset{1}{\#} \overset{3}{\text{pillé:l}} / \text{ 'the watchman is wakeful all night'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \quad \quad \text{P} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{sahrá:n}} \overset{3}{\text{tú:l}} \overset{3}{\text{pillé:l}} \overset{3}{\text{lhá:res}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'is the watchman wakeful all night?'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{P} \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$
Sv1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lfarrá:š}} \overset{3}{\text{táffáh}} \overset{1}{\#} \overset{3}{\text{lkú:ba}} \overset{1}{\#} \overset{3}{\text{šá:y}} / \text{ 'the servant filled the glass with tea'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \quad \quad \text{tea} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{táffáh}} \overset{3}{\text{lkú:ba}} \overset{3}{\#} \overset{3}{\text{šá:y}} \overset{3}{\#} \overset{3}{\text{lfarrá:š}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'did the servant fill the glass with tea?'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \text{S} \quad \quad \quad \text{tea} \end{array} \right.$

19. SAMPLE saq̫i:di TEXT

To illustrate the application of the saq̫i:di syntactic system outlined in this study, the following sentences are analyzed in terms of the categories I defined. The text is a short folk tale which consists of ten sentences.

In every sentence, the major constituent elements (constructs, phrases, clauses) are marked off by the symbols used in the discussion of saq̫i:di syntax. When the same sentence contains two or more elements of the same type, the symbols referring to them are distinguished by numerals in parentheses.

The sentence type is mentioned at the end of the translation of each sentence. Literal translation is bracketed. A plus sign is used to separate the immediate constituents of a construction. A colon is to be read as "consisting of".

THE GREEDY WOMAN

1. /²sálli ³qannábi ¹lhá:dey #/
‘Glorify (2.m.s.) [pray on] the guiding prophet!’

Imperative sentence: verbal construct 1 + prepositional phrase, with /2 3 1 #/ intonation contour.

- VCt1: verb + subject pronoun
verb: /sálli/ ‘pray’ + subject pronoun /Ø/ (2.m.s.).
- prep P: preposition + nominal phrase 3
preposition: /qala/ ‘on’ (allomorph /qa-/ before /pil-/)
nominal phrase 3: definite noun /Pinnabi/ + nominal modifier (in appositive relationship) /lha:dey/ ‘the guiding’.

2. /²ká:n fí: wíhda ³mára | ²2 minílli ³yhíbbu ¹lmá:l #/
IC1 prep P
‘There was a woman [one woman] who loved money’

Verbal transform of the declarative non-verbal sentence: independent clause + prepositional phrase with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

- IC1: verb + prepositional construct + nominal phrase 2
verb: /ka:n/ 'was'
prepositional construct: preposition /fi-/ 'in' + non-subject pronoun (allocation) /Ø/ (3.m.s.)
nominal phrase 2: modifier: cardinal numerical adjective /wiħda/ 'one' (f.s.) + noun head: definite noun (by position) /mara/ 'woman'.
 prep P: preposition + /Pilley/-phrase.
preposition: /min/ 'from'
/Pilley/-phrase: /Pilley/ + predictor + object
relative /Pilley/: 'who' (pl.)
predictor: verbal construct 1
 subject pronoun + verb /yħibb u/ 'they love'
object: definite noun /lma:l/ '(the) money'

3. / ²tíṃlek ³nittá:l ³sámen kabí:r ¹#/
 'She owned [owns] a big jar of cooking fat'

- Declarative verbal sentence, with /231 #/ intonation contour.
predictor: verbal construct 1 /tiħmle/ 'she owns'
object: nominal phrase 2:
 head: nominal phrase 1 /nittá:l/ 'jar' + /samen/ 'cooking fat' (in genitival relationship)
 modifier: /kabi:r/ 'big'.

4. / ²Pinnittá:l ³mħállag ¹qalħé:t ¹#/
 'The jar (being) hung on the wall'

- Declarative non-verbal sentence with /231 #/ intonation contour.
subject: definite noun /Pinnittá:l/ 'the jar'
predicate: adjectival phrase:
 adjective + adverbial phrase
 adjective: /mħallag/ 'hung (m.s.)'
adverbial phrase: preposition + noun
 preposition /qà-/ 'on'
 noun: definite noun /lħeq:t/ 'the wall'

5. / ²gá:lat ³lnáfsħi | ²₁ ³yá bét ¹#/
 ICI (1) ICI (2)
 'She said to herself, "O girl!"'

Vocative sentence: two independent clauses, phonologically linked, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): predicate + adverbial phrase

predicate: verbal construct 1: /ga:l¹at/ 'she said'

adverbial phrase:

preposition: /l-/ 'to'

noun: /nafshi/ 'herself'

ICl (2): vocative clause: predicate /ya/ vocative particle + subject: noun /bet/ 'girl'.

6. /²nbí:³ samná:²tey | ³wníštari ²bágara ³jaftá:¹ni #/
 ICl (1) ICl (2)
 'I sell my cooking fat and buy a lean cow'

A declarative verbal sentence: two independent clauses phonologically and lexically linked, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): predicate + object

predicate: verbal construct 1

verbal construct 1 /nbí:³/ 'I sell' /n-/ l.s. (subject pronoun)
 + /bi:³/

object: nominal construct

noun /samna:t/ 'cooking fat' (pl.) + /-ey/ (l.s.) non-subject pronoun
 (allocation).

ICl (2): linker + predicate + object

linker: /w-/ 'and'

predicate: verbal construct 1

verbal construct 1 /ništari/ 'I buy' /ni-/ l.s. (subject pronoun) +
 /-štari/

object: nominal phrase 2

nominal phrase 2: noun + modifier

noun: /bagara/ 'cow'

modifier: /jaftá:ni/ 'lean (f.s.)'

7. /²nsammínhi | ³winbí:²shi | ³winjáwwez ²wáladi bét ³lísúmdi ¹#/
 ICl (1) ICl (2) ICl (3)

'I fatten it, sell it and make my son marry the Omda's [i.e., the Mayor's] daughter'

Declarative verbal sentence: three independent clauses phonologically and lexically linked, with /232 | 232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): verbal construct 2

verbal construct 2: subject pronoun + verb + object pronoun

/n¹sammin²hi/ 'I fatten it (f.)'

ICl (2): linker + verbal construct 2

linker: /wi-/ 'and'

verbal construct 2: /n¹bi:²hi/ [I sell it]

- IC1 (3): linker + verbal construct 1 + object 1 + object 2
linker /wi-/ ‘and’
verbal construct 1 /n¹jawwez/ ‘I cause to marry’
object 1: indefinite noun /waladi/ ‘my son’
object 2: nominal phrase 1: indefinite noun /bet/ ‘daughter’ + definite noun /l¹sumdi/ ‘the mayor’.

8. / ²l¹aw gállat h³ayá:hi | ²² n³udr¹bha b¹il¹sas¹:yi #/
 DC1 ICI
 ‘If she is impolite [lessened her shyness], I beat her with the stick’

Declarative verbal sentence: one dependent clause + one independent clause, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

- DC1: subordinating conjunction + predicator + object
subordinating conjunction: /law/ ‘if’
predicator: verbal construct 1
 /gall¹at/ ‘she lessened’
object: nominal construct: noun /haya:-/ + non-subject pronoun (allocation) /-hi/ (3.f.s.).
- IC1: verbal construct 2 + adverbial phrase
verbal construct 2: /n¹u¹dr¹b¹ha/ ‘I beat her’
adverbial phrase: preposition + definite noun
preposition: /bi-/ ‘with’
definite noun: /l¹sasa:yi/ ‘the stick’

9. / ²³šáwwaḥat l¹sas¹:yi | ²² ³kásarat pínnittá:l #/
 ICI (1) ICI (2)
 ‘she waved the stick and broke the jar.’

Declarative verbal sentence: two independent clauses, phonologically linked, with /232 / 231 #/ intonation contours.

- IC1 (1) predicator + object
predicator: verbal construct 1 /sawwaḥat/ ‘she waved’
object: definite noun /l¹sasa:yi/ ‘the stick’
- IC1 (2) predicator + object
predicator: verbal construct 1 /kásar¹at/ ‘she broke’
object: definite noun /pínnittá:l/ ‘the jar’

10. / ²máḥassaláṭší h³á:ji #/
 ‘She gained nothing’

Negative declarative verbal sentence, with /231 #/ intonation contour. Emphatic particle + negative particle + predicator + object.

emphatic particle: /ma/

negative particle: /-šey/

predicator: verbal construct 1

/hassal^{at}/ ‘she gained’

object: indefinite noun /ha;ji/ ‘thing’



APPENDIX TO PHONOTACTICS

Notes:

- 1) The object of the following listing is to illustrate the attested consonant clusters in *səs̪i:di*.
- 2) Nouns and adjectives in the tables, unless otherwise indicated, are masculine (m,), singular (s).
- 3) *Səs̪i:di* verbs, whether in the perfective or the imperfective, the active or the passive forms, have 3.m.s. subject pronouns.

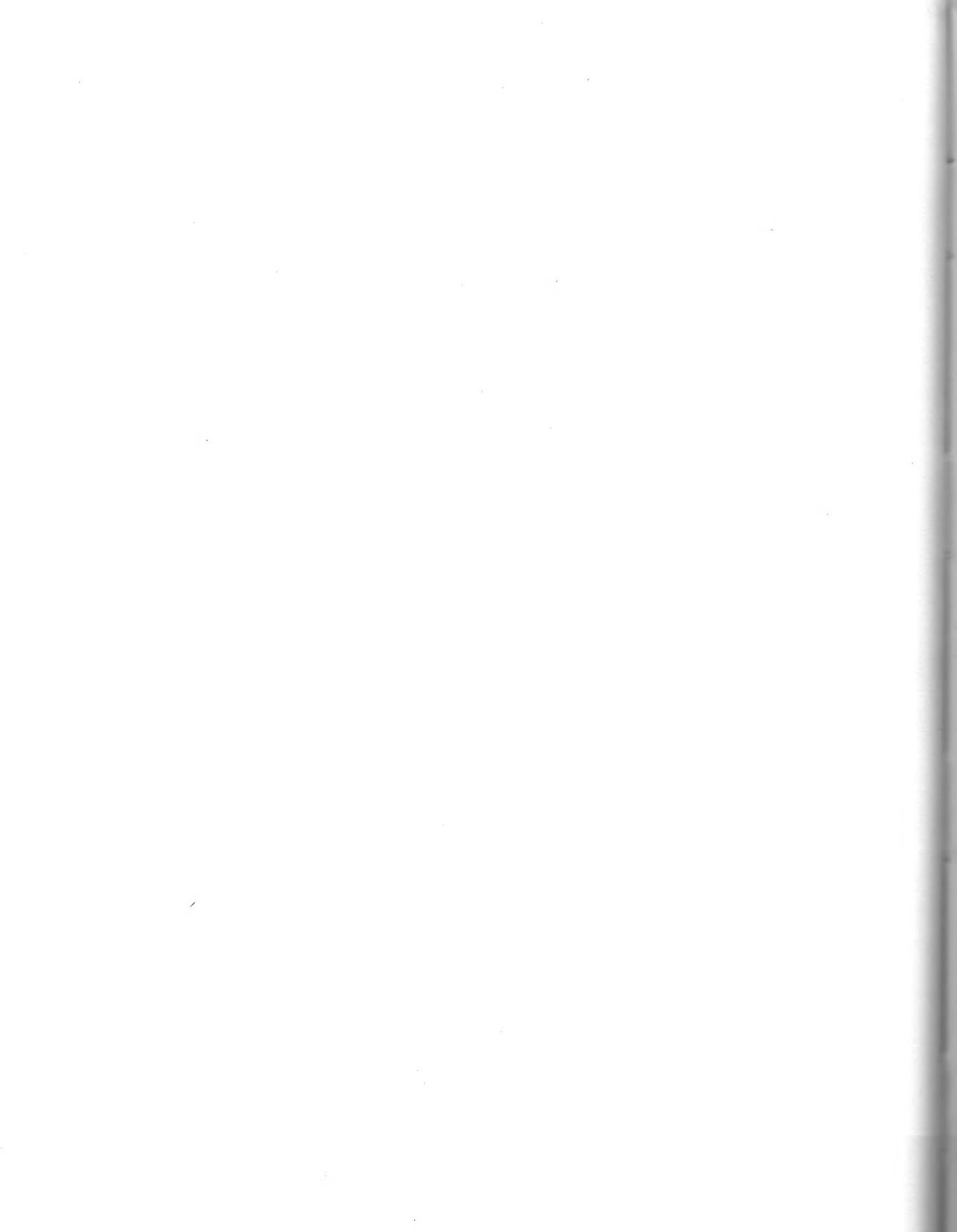


TABLE XX

Initial Consonant Clusters: $C_1 C_2^-$

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tk/	/tkatab/	'was written'	/fn/	/fnɑ:r/	'in a dilemma'
/t?/	/t?assər/	'felt sympathy'	/fr/	/freg/	'finished'
/tf/	/tfarrat/	'went for a walk'	/fw/	/fwiššu/	'in his face'
/ts/	/tsallam/	'received'	/fy/	/fyaddu/	'in his hand (f.)'
/tš/	/tšatam/	'was insulted'	/st/	/stannow/	'wait (pl.)!'
/tx/	/txallaf/	'stayed behind'	/sf/	/sfu:f/	'lines'
/th/	/thes/	'you (m.s.) feel'	/sx/	/sxu:r/	'rocks'
/th/	/thammal/	'was left'	/sh/	/šhu:n/	'plates'
/tb/	/tbassar/	'contemplated'	/sh/	/sher/	'kept awake'
/tg/	/tgabas/	'was picked'	/sb/	/sbeħ/	'got up (in the morning)'
/tz/	/tzəbbat/	'got dirty'			
/tj/	/tjalad/	'was lashed'	/sd/	/sda:q/	'headache'
/tg/	/tgali/	'was boiled'	/sg/	/sgu:r/	'hawks'
/tš/	/tšallag/	'was hung'	/sj/	/sju:n/	'prisons'
/tm/	/tma:n/	'assurance (f.)'	/sš/	/sšer/	'became wild'
/tn/	/tnasal/	'was pulled'	/sm/	/smeš/	heard'
/tl/	/tlajam/	'was embarrassed'	/sn/	/snu:n/	'teeth'
/tr/	/trasad/	'was stunned'	/sl/	/slem/	'emerged safe'
/tw/	/twassat/	'mediated'	/sr/	/srur/	'pleasure'
/ty/	/tyu:s/	'male goats'	/sw/	/swer/	'(was) defeated'
/kt/	/ktə:r/	'much (pl.)'	/sy/	/syu:l/	'floods'
/kf/	/kfur:f/	'palms'	/št/	/štut/	'shores'
/ks/	/ksu:r/	'parts'	/šk/	/šku:k/	'doubts'
/kb/	/kbə:r/	'big (pl.)'	/šf/	/šfey/	'became well (after sickness)'
/kd/	/kdeb/	'told lies'	/šh/	/šhur:/	'months'
/kš/	/kšu:b/	'heels'	/šb/	/šbeš/	'ate enough'
/km/	/kma:m/	'sleeves'	/šd/	/šda:d/	'strong (pl.)'
/kn/	/kna:si/	'trash (f.)'	/šg/	/šgey/	'became miserable'
/kl/	/klibbi/	'dogs'	/šm/	/šmu:š/	'candles'
/kr/	/kru:b/	'disasters'	/šr/	/šreb/	'drank'
/kw/	/kwa:m/	'heaps'	/šw/	/šwab/	'clubs (i.e., big sticks)'
/ky/	/kyu:s/	'sacks'			
/ft/	/ftu:ħ/	'success'			
/fk/	/fka:r/	'a male's name'	/šy/	/šyal/	'loads'
/f?/	/f?ərdy/	'in his land'	/xf/	/xfey/	'disappeared'
/fs/	/fsinni/	'in a tooth (f.)'	/xd/	/xdur:d/	'cheeks'
/fš/	/fšaš/	'lungs'	/xz/	/xzey/	'felt ashamed'
/fx/	/fxe:mi/	'in a tent (f.)'	/xj/	/xjel/	'felt shy'
/fħ/	/fhem/	'felt thirsty'	/xm/	/xmu:r/	'drinks'
/fh/	/fhem/	'understood'	/xl/	/xley/	'became free (from work)'
/fb/	/fbaladu/	'in his town'			
/fd/	/fdə:ru/	'in his home'	/xr/	/xru:j/	'sacks'
/fg/	/fger/	'became poor'	/xy/	/xya:ra/	'a cucumber'
/fz/	/fza:š/	'terrible (pl.)'	/ħt/	/ħtat/	'pieces'
/fj/	/fjanni/	'in a paradise (f.)'	/ħk/	/ħka:yi/	'story (f.)'
/fg/	/fgalltu/	'in his wheat'	/ħf/	/ħfey/	'did his utmost'
/fš/	/fše:nu/	'in his eye (f.)'	/ħs/	/ħsy:n/	'forts'
/fm/	/fma:lu/	'in his property'	/ħb/	/ħba:l/	'ropes'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ħd/	/ħdi/	'singing (for camels)'	/gn/	/gneħ/	'felt satisfied'
/ħg/	/ħgu:g/	'rights'	/gl/	/gla:m/	'pencils'
/ħz/	/ħza:b/	'parties'	/gr/	/gres/	'got stung'
/ħj/	/ħju:r/	'laps'	/gw/	/gwar/	'forehead'
/ħm/	/ħmey/	'became warm'	/gy/	/gya:m/	'rising'
/ħl/	/ħlem/	'dreamt'	/zf/	/zfet/	'was disgusted'
/ħr/	/ħrem/	'was prohibited'	/zg/	/zge:m/	'small mouse'
/ħy/	/ħya:g/	'fried onion'	/zq/	/ziem/	'became naughty'
/ħt/	/ħtak/	'scandals'	/zm/	/zmeg/	'became angry'
/ħb/	/ħbar/	'pieces (of meat)'	/zl/	/zleg/	'slipped (in speech)'
/ħd/	/ħdey/	'became quiet'	/zr/	/zra:r/	'button'
/ħz/	/ħzel/	'became lean'	/zw/	/zwa:r/	'throats'
/ħj/	/ħju:m/	'attack'	/jf/	/jfel/	'felt scared'
/ħm/	/ħmu:m/	'worries (n.)'	/js/	/ħsu:r/	'bridges'
/ħn/	/ħni/	'here'	/jħ/	/jħem/	'showed greed'
/bt/	/btu:n/	'bellies'	/jb/	/jba:l/	'mountains'
/bk/	/bkal/	'water jars'	/jg/	/jgu:l/	'points (in a local game)'
/bf/	/bfulli/	'with a cork (f.)'	/jm/	/jmaħ/	'weeks (lit. Fridays)'
/bs/	/bsu:r/	'with a fence'	/jn/	/jna:n/	'madness'
/bš/	/bša:ra/	'good news (f.)'	/jr/	/jra:b/	'a kind of case'
/bx/	/bxel/	'became miserly'	/gf/	/gfel/	'took a nap'
/bħ/	/bħa:r/	'seas'	/għ/	/għej/	'fainted'
/bh/	/bħimmi/	'with zeal (f.)'	/għ/	/għej/	'became rich'
/bd/	/bdam/	'with blood'	/għ/	/għey/	'became costly'
/bg/	/bgubba/	'with a dome (f.)'	/gl/	/glej/	'glue'
/bz/	/bzimmi/	'with honesty (f.)'	/gr/	/gri/	'beasts'
/bj/	/bjalaħ/	'indifferently'	/gw/	/gwal/	'became beefy'
/bg/	/bga:l/	'mules'	/għ/	/għej/	'loved'
/bq/	/bqimmi/	'with a turban (f.)'	/għ/	/għeg/	'people (lit. worshippers)'
/bm/	/bmayyi/	'with water (f.)'	/gb/	/għa:d/	'minds'
/bn/	/bnaq:r/	'with fire (f.)'	/għ/	/għu:l/	'luggage'
/bl/	/bley/	'became torn out'	/għ/	/għu:l/	'calves'
/br/	/bru:j/	'towers'	/għ/	/għa:l/	'became blind'
/bw/	/bwiśsu/	'with his face'	/għ/	/għu:l/	'became'
/by/	/byaddu/	'with his hand (f.)'	/għ/	/għmey/	'children'
/dk/	/dku:r/	'males'	/għ/	/għu:g/	'priced (adj.)'
/df/	/dfey/	'felt warm'	/għ/	/għley/	'enough'
/dš/	/dšeħ/	'showed greed'	/għ/	/għreg/	'sweated'
/dh/	/dheħ/	'was stunned'	/għ/	/għya:l/	'hopeful'
/db/	/dba:qä/	'hyenas'	/mt/	/mtħamman/	'inspector'
/dħ/	/dħi/	'prayer'	/mk/	/mkaffey/	'rusty'
/dm/	/dmu:S/	'tears (n.)'	/mħ/	/mħammel/	'ready to work'
/dr/	/drey/	'got accustomed'	/mf/	/mfattex/	'mixed'
/dw/	/dwey/	'inkpots'	/ms/	/msaddey/	'baked'
/dy/	/dyar/	'homes'	/mħ/	/mħammer/	'foolish'
/gt/	/gtar/	'caves'	/mx/	/mxallat/	'deformed'
/gf/	/gfaf/	'baskets (of a local type)'	/mħ/	/mħammas/	'persistent'
/gs/	/gsu:r/	'palaces'	/mb/	/mbaddal/	'divided'
/gb/	/gbu:r/	'graves'	/md/	/mda:ger/	'hair dresser'
/gd/	/gder/	'could (do)'	/mg/	/mgassam/	
/gm/	/gma:š/	'cloth'	/mz/	/mzayyen/	

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/mj/	/mja:ħhem/	'bully'	/rf/	/rfeħ/	'became lean'
/mg/	/mgayyar/	'changed'	/rs/	/rsey/	'matured'
/mš/	/mʃaffen/	'rotten'	/rħ/	/rħa:yi/	'stone-mill (f.)'
/mn/	/mnawwer/	'lit'	/rb/	/rbekħ/	'profitted'
/ml/	/mlattam/	'veiled'	/rd/	/rdęq/	'sucked (milk)'
/mr/	/mrājjel/	'manly'	/rg/	/rga:d/	'sleep (n.)'
/mw/	/mwattag/	'well fixed'	/rz/	/rzeg/	'earned (living)'
/my/	/myu:ħa/	'looseness (f.)'	/rj/	/rjey/	'became promising'
/nt/	/ntey/	'females'	/rħ/	/rħa:yi/	'care (f.)'
/nk/	/nkammel/	'continue (1.m.s.)'	/rm/	/rmed/	'had a pink eye'
/nħ/	/nħammel/	'hope (1.m.s.)'	/ry/	/rya:li/	'saliva (f.)'
/nf/	/nfaħħes/	'inspect (1.m.s.)'	/wt/	/wtyg/	'degenerated'
/ns/	/nsatħef/	'arrange (1.m.s.)'	/wk/	/wka:li/	'inn (f.)'
/nx/	/nxa:li/	'wheat crust (f.)'	/ws/	/wsed/	'became wider'
/nħ/	/nħalley/	'decorate (1.m.s.)'	/wš/	/wša:yi/	'treachery (f.)'
/nh/	/nhaffet/	'feel weak (1.m.s.)'	/wx/	/wxem/	'became idle'
/nb/	/nbayyen/	'uncover (1.m.s.)'	/wħ/	/wħel/	'met a problem or walked'
/nd/	/ndalley/	'lower (1.m.s.)'	/wb/	/wbattä/	'and a duck (f.)'
/ng/	/nganneb/	'feel cold (1.m.s.)'	/wd/	/wda:n/	'ears'
/nz/	/nzalleġ/	'trick (1.m.s.)'	/wg/	/wgubba/	'and a dome (f.)'
/nj/	/njej/	'come (1.m.s.)'	/wz/	/wzalla:t/	'and sins'
/ng/	/nganney/	'sing (1.m.s.)'	/wj/	/wja:ħ/	'pains'
/nħ/	/nħa:fer/	'try (1.m.s.)'	/wg/	/wgalli/	'and grain'
/nm/	/nmalles/	'stroke (1.m.s.)'	/wħ/	/wħier/	'became difficult'
/nl/	/nlef/	'go round (1.m.s.)'	/wm/	/wmayyi/	'and water (f.)'
/nr/	/nrawweħ/	'go home (1.m.s.)'	/wn/	/wna:ħi/	'cranes'
/nw/	/nwattę/	'bow (1.m.s.)'	/wl/	/wla:d/	'children'
/ny/	/nya:bi/	'delegating (f.)'	/wr/	/wriggi/	'papers'
/lt/	/lta:m/	'veil'	/wy/	/wyammu/	'and towards him'
/lk/	/lkem/	'ate too much'	/yt/	/ytol/	'looks (v.)'
/lħ/	/lħahly/	'to my family'	/yk/	/ykawwem/	'heaps (v.)'
/lf/	/lfa:ga/	'hiccup (f.)'	/yṛ/	/yPammel/	'hopes (v.)'
/ls/	/lseħ/	'was stung'	/yf/	/yfasser/	'explains'
/lħ/	/lħiggū/	'to his quarter'	/ys/	/ysed/	'blocks (v.)'
/lx/	/lxa:ley/	'to my (maternal) uncle'	/yħ/	/yħem/	'smells (v.)'
/lħ/	/lħeg/	'reached'	/yx/	/yxalley/	'keeps'
/lh/	/lhət/	'swallowed'	/yħ/	/yħalley/	'sweatens'
/lb/	/lbittu/	'to his daughter'	/yħ/	/yħeb/	'explodes'
/ld/	/ldaq:ru/	'to his house'	/yb/	/yber/	'treats gently'
/lg/	/lgey/	'found'	/yd/	/ydeħ/	'works hard'
/lz/	/lzem/	'followed closely'	/yg/	/ygħot/	'steals'
/lħ/	/lħa:m/	'reins'	/yz/	/yzon/	'thinks'
/lg/	/lgey/	'was cancelled'	/yj/	/yji:b/	'brings'
/lħ/	/lħeb/	'played'	/yġ/	/yġawwel/	'becomes greedy or fierce'
/lm/	/lma:mi/	'trash (f.)'	/yħ/	/yħayyēt/	'calls'
/ln/	/lna:su/	'to his people'	/ym/	/ymawwet/	'kills'
/lr/	/lrabbu/	'to his God'	/yn/	/ynagget/	'drops (v.) (liquid)'
/lw/	/lwad/	'the boy'	/yl/	/ylem/	'collects'
/ly/	/lya:ga/	'collar (f.)'	/yr/	/yrammeħ/	'trots (v.)'
/rt/	/rtaq:l/	'pounds'	/yw/	/ywaddey/	'takes (to somebody)'
/rk/	/rkəb/	'mounted'			

TABLE XXI

Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂- (Geminates are included)

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tt/	/hitti/	'piece (f.)'	/sf/	/wəsfə/	'prescription (f.)'
/tf/	/S̥atfa/	'lane (f.)'	/ss/	/fiissu/	'his voice'
/ts/	/S̥atsj/	'cough (f.)'	/sx/	/mə:sxə/	'distasteful (f.)'
/tš/	/hatšog/	'she will drop in'	/sh/	/mashi/	'erasing (f.)'
/th/	/fathi/	'opening (f.)'	/sh/	/na:shi/	'her family'
/th/	/fa:thi/	'left it (f.) or her'	/sb/	/nasba/	'pavilion (f.) (for funeral ceremony)'
/tb/	/kitbi/	'habit (f.)'			
/tg/	/wa:tgi/	'well fixed (f.)'	/sd/	/gasdu/	'his purpose'
/tz/	/ratzi/	'trot (f.) (by donkey)'	/sj/	/yisjed/	'yields'
/tš/	/ba:tši/	'smart (f.)'	/sg/	/P̥asgar/	'smaller'
/tm/	/katmi/	'stuffy (f.)'	/sʃ/	/yisšar/	'becomes fierce'
/tn/	/fitni/	'beauty (f.)'	/sm/	/P̥ismu/	'his name'
/tl/	/gatli/	'beating (f.)'	/sn/	/na:smi/	'our family'
/tr/	/gutra/	'hole (f.) (used by reptiles)'	/sl/	/yisley/	'fries'
			/sr/	/Sišri/	'difficult (f.) to do'
/tw/	/fatwa/	'counsel (f.)'	/sw/	/yiswa/	'equals (v.)'
/ty/	/ratyi/	'scolding (f.)'	/sy/	/nasyi/	'forgetting (f.)'
/kt/	/nukti/	'joke (f.)'	/št/	/gišta/	'cream (f.)'
/kk/	/dikki/	'bench (f.)'	/šš/	/fišši/	'lung (f.)'
/ks/	/naksi/	'reverse (f.)'	/šh/	/ri:šhi/	'its (f.) feathers'
/kš/	/nakši/	'stroke (f.) (by a bird's beak)'	/šd/	/yišdey/	'sings'
			/šg/	/yišga/	'becomes miserable'
/kh/	/fa:khi/	'fruit (f.)'	/šm/	/bašmi/	'eating (f.) (much)'
/kb/	/rukba/	'knee (f.)'	/šn/	/šišni/	'we lived'
/kš/	/rakša/	'bow (f.) (in prayer)'	/šl/	/yišley/	'aches (v.)'
/km/	/S̥akma/	'arrest (f.)'	/šr/	/kašra/	'bad omen (f.)'
/kn/	/lakni/	'accent (f.)'	/šw/	/našwey/	'my (light) stick'
/kl/	/bukli/	'water jar (f.)'	/čt/	/načtu/	'his lie (f.)'
/kr/	/S̥ikri/	'impure (f.)'	/čk/	/načkom/	'your (pl.) lies'
/ky/	/bakyi/	'crying (f.)'	/čh/	/načhi/	'her lies'
/ps/	/bařsu/	'his prestige'	/čn/	/načni/	'our lies'
/pm/	/luřmu/	'his cunning'	/xt/	/baxtu/	'his luck'
/ft/	/lifti/	'turnip (f.)'	/xf/	/yixfa/	'disappears'
/ff/	/haffi/	'trace (f.)'	/xx/	/baxxa/	'small amount of liquid (f.)'
/fs/	/nafsu/	'himself'			
/fš/	/S̥afšu/	'his furniture'	/xb/	/yuxbot/	'beats (v.)'
/fx/	/nafxa/	'haughtiness (f.)'	/xd/	/ya:xdow/	'they take'
/fh/	/nafhi/	'grant (f.)'	/xz/	/yixzow/	'they feel ashamed'
/fh/	/ša:fhi/	'he saw her (f.)'	/xm/	/faxma/	'luxurious (f.)'
/fd/	/nafdi/	'escape (f.)'	/xl/	/naxli/	'palm tree (f.)'
/fg/	/yifgaš/	'deflates'	/xr/	/nixri/	'(unguarded) wealth (f.)'
/fz/	/lařzu/	'his word'			
/fn/	/hifni/	'handful (f.)'	/xw/	/rixwa/	'soft (f.)'
/fl/	/gifle:n/	'two locks'	/xy/	/P̥ixyi/	'plot (f.)'
/fr/	/jafra/	'untidy (f.)'	/ħt/	/balaħtu/	'his date (f.)'
/fy/	/ħafyi/	'bare footed (f.)'	/ħk/	/yiħkey/	'tells a story'
/st/	/wq:sta:/	'mediation (f.)'	/ħf/	/yiħfi/	'becomes bare-footed'
/sk/	/miski:n/	'miserable'			

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ħs/	/laħsi/	'very small amount (f.)'	/ħd/	/ħaddi/	'pull (f.)'
/ħš/	/maħħċey/	'stuffed'	/ħg/	/yidgen/	'shows skill'
/ħħ/	/sħiħi/	'health (f.)'	/ħm/	/yidħeġ/	'prays (v.)'
/ħħ/	/samaħħi/	'her forgiveness'	/ħb/	/yidmey/	'bleeds'
/ħb/	/suħba/	'friendship (f.)'	/ħd/	/badli/	'suit (f.)'
/ħd/	/wiħdi/	'one (f.)'	/ħg/	/buðra/	'powder (f.)'
/ħg/	/saħġa/	'crushing (f.)'	/ħj/	/na:dyi/	'a female's name'
/ħj/	/miħjar/	'querry'	/ħm/	/yigħaq/	'cuts'
/ħm/	/laħmi/	'meat (f.)'	/ħn/	/wa:gfha/	'standing (f.)'
/ħn/	/miħni/	'disaster (f.)'	/ħn/	/yigħoww/	'they become cruel'
/ħl/	/waħħi/	'pitfall (f.)'	/ħw/	/lagħu/	'his fun'
/ħw/	/yiħħwey/	'he works wonders'	/ħy/	/zo:gha/	'her taste'
/ħy/	/ma:ħħi/	'ignorant (f.)'	/ħt/	/nagħbi/	'his nickname'
/ħt/	/jiħtu/	'his native place (f.)'	/ħf/	/yigħdar/	'can do'
/ħf/	/lahfi/	'eagerness (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħagħġey/	'my right'
/ħħ/	/ja:ħħi/	'her prestige'	/ħd/	/yigħaż/	'feels disgusted'
/ħb/	/wahbi/	'tip (f.)'	/ħm/	/yigħġi/	'pulls out'
/ħd/	/yiħħdi/	'he becomes quiet'	/ħn/	/yigħoww/	'they read'
/ħz/	/yiħzel/	'jokes (v.)'	/ħm/	/ba:ġy/	'they become strong'
/ħm/	/fahmey/	'my understanding'	/ħn/	/mi:z-tu/	'remaining (f.)'
/ħn/	/ja:hni/	'our influence'	/ħl/	/yizfat/	'his worth (f.)'
/ħl/	/Pahley/	'my family'	/ħr/	/ħibbe:n/	'becomes bored'
/ħr/	/mahrey/	'well boiled'	/ħw/	/riżgu/	'shines'
/ħw/	/yiħwa/	'likes'	/ħy/	/ħa:zz/	'two parties'
/ħy/	/la:ħħi/	'indifferent (f.)'	/ħt/	/yizgħoww/	'his earnings'
/ħt/	/jibtu/	'I brought it (m.)'	/ħk/	/yibkey/	'queer (f.)'
/ħk/	/ħabbi/	'cries'	/ħs/	/yizsag/	'they make noise (by talking)'
/ħs/	/ħabsi/	'imprisonment (f.)'	/ħs/	/yizmag/	'shouts'
/ħs/	/ħabši/	'bite (f.)'	/ħm/	/ħuznu/	'becomes angry'
/ħx/	/labxa/	'paste (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħuznu/	'his sorrow'
/ħħ/	/nabħi/	'howl (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħuznu/	'slips'
/ħħ/	/še:bhi/	'her grey hair'	/ħħ/	/ħuznu/	'disgraceful'
/ħħ/	/ħabbxi/	'kiss (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħuznu/	'my top (toy)'
/ħħ/	/ħibdi/	'local head dress (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħa:tey/	'my thing (f.)'
/ħħ/	/yibga/	'remains'	/ħħ/	/ħiʃfi/	'becomes rough'
/ħħ/	/yibzel/	'gives generously'	/ħħ/	/ħajjsu/	'his frivolity'
/ħħ/	/kabji/	'lame (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħaza:žhi/	'her temper'
/ħħ/	/yibgħey/	'he bullies others'	/ħħ/	/ħa:jbcy/	'my eye lid'
/ħħ/	/ra:bħa/	'a female's name'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżow/	'they reward'
/ħħ/	/jibni/	'cheese (f.) or we brought'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'reason (f.)'
/ħħ/	/ħabli/	'stupid (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħajju/	'his hamlet'
/ħħ/	/ħubra/	'piece of fish or meat (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħajni/	'attack (f.)'
/ħħ/	/ħabya:n/	'beggarly'	/ħħ/	/ħajnu/	'his (speedy) camels'
/ħħ/	/yidfi/	'feels warm'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'polishes'
/ħħ/	/yidħa/	'shows greed'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'runs'
/ħħ/	/yudxol/	'comes in'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'dried dates (f.)'
/ħħ/	/madħu/	'his praise'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'takes a nap'
/ħħ/	/nadħi/	'call (f.)'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'stomach ache (f.)'
/ħħ/	/yidbey/	'he crawls'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'laughs heartily'
/ħħ/	/yidbey/	'he crawls'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'her gold ornaments'
/ħħ/	/yidbey/	'he crawls'	/ħħ/	/ħiżżejj/	'spins'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/gg/	/bagga/	'trick (f.)'	/ng/	/yungol/	'gets crowded'
/gm/	/yigma/	'faints'	/nŋ/	/ganŋa:n/	'satisfied'
/gn/	/yigni/	'becomes rich'	/nn/	/sinni/	'tooth (f.)'
/gl/	/yigli/	'becomes costly'	/nw/	/yinwey/	'intends'
/gr/	/mugrey/	'tempting'	/lt/	/hi:ltu/	'his trick (f.)'
/gw/	/yigwa/	'likes'	/lk/	/Silki/	'matter (f.)'
/t/	/mi:təm/	'dark'	/lf/	/malfu:g/	'(of cloth) mended'
/k/	/yu:kom/	'holds'	/ls/	/malsi/	'soft (f.)'
/f/	/gu:fu/	'his stick'	/lš/	/galši/	'missing (f.) a target'
/s/	/ji:səy/	'disobeys'	/lx/	/malxa/	'bruise (f.)'
/š/	/na:ši:/	'good beating'	/lh/	/milku/	'his salt'
/h/	/ku:šha/	'her elbow'	/lh/	/ga:lhi/	'said it (f.)'
/b/	/li:bi:/	'game (f.)'	/lb/	/galbu/	'his heart'
/d/	/ba:du/	'after him'	/ld/	/jildi/	'piece of leather (f.)'
/n/	/na:nu/	'gave him a blow'	/lg/	/filgu/	'his lumber'
/m/	/ni:mi/	'blessing (f.)'	/lz/	/yilzeg/	'fixes'
/n/	/ju:n̩i/	'we felt hungry'	/lj/	/yiljem/	'confuses'
/l/	/yi:li/	'is promoted'	/lg/	/yilgey/	' cancels'
/r/	/yi:rə/	'becomes destitute'	/lč/	/šalši/	'flash (f.)'
/w/	/yi:wey/	'barks (v.)'	/lm/	/yilmaš/	'shines'
/y/	/yi:yi/	'becomes sick'	/ln/	/gulni/	'said (1.pl.)'
/mt/	/gi:mtu/	'his worth (f.)'	/ll/	/Silli/	'sickness (f.)'
/mk/	/la:mkom/	'reproached you (pl.)	/lw/	/balwa/	'ordeal (f.)'
/ms/	/yimsek/	'catches'	/ly/	/malyi/	'filling (f.)'
/mš/	/rimšu/	'his eye lashes'	/rt/	/ji:rtu/	'his neighbourhood (f.)'
/mh/	/ysa:mhu/	'forgives him'	/rk/	/yirkab/	'mounts'
/mh/	/yimhi/	'becomes liquid'	/rf/	/yirfaš/	'lifts up'
/mb/	/sambu/	'dark skinned'	/rs/	/yirsem/	'draws'
/md/	/šumdi/	'Omdah (equal to village sherrif)'	/rš/	/birša:mi/	'pill (f.)'
/mz/	/yimzeʃ/	'mixes'	/rx/	/sarxa/	'cry (f.)'
/mš/	/lamši/	'polish (f.)'	/ři/	/yirham/	'shows mercy'
/mm/	/lammi/	'crowd (f.)'	/rh/	/na:rhom/	'their fire'
/mn/	/samni/	'cooking fat (f.)'	/rb/	/yurbot/	'ties'
/ml/	/šamli/	'bad deed (f.)'	/rd/	/girdi/	'(female) monkey'
/mr/	/nimri/	'number (f.)'	/rg/	/zarga/	'blue (f.)'
/mw/	/šamwa:h/	'a kind of leather'	/rz/	/yirzaš/	'puts down (angrily)'
/my/	/šamyi/	'blind (f.)'	/rj/	/yirjaš/	'goes back'
/nt/	/šanta/	'bag (f.)'	/rg/	/yirgab/	'likes'
/nk/	/bunku/	'his type'	/rč/	/yirša/	'grazes'
/nf/	/manfi/	'remote place'	/rm/	/yirmey/	'throws'
/ns/	/yinsi/	'forgets'	/rn/	/gurna/	'height (f.)'
/ňš/	/yinšeʃ/	'builds'	/rr/	/sutra/	'bundle (f.)'
/nx/	/yinxaš/	'exaggerates'	/rw/	/yirwey/	'waters (v.)'
/nh/	/minhi/	'grant (f.)'	/ry/	/sa:ryi/	'pole (f.)'
/nh/	/yinhey/	'finishes'	/wt/	/yiwtag/	'becomes fixed'
/nb/	/janbu/	'beside him'	/ws/	/hawsi/	'commotion'
/nd/	/sandı/	'support (f.)'	/wš/	/dawši/	'noise (f.)'
/ng/	/yungol/	'carries (from place to place)'	/wh/	/lawħa/	'twist (f.)'
/nz/	/šanzi/	'she goat'	/wj/	/yiwjaš/	'aches'
/nj/	/yinji/	'escapes'	/wš/	/yiwša/	'recalls'
			/ww/	/sawwa/	'cooked'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/wy/	/ma:wyi/	'(of water melon) not fresh (f.)'	/yg/	/saygɛ:n/	'two goldsmiths'
/yt/	/fa:yti/	'passing by (f.)'	/yŋ/	/sa:yŋu/	'enduring him'
/yk/	/ša:yki/	'thorny (f.)'	/ym/	/ga:ymi/	'departing (f.)'
/yf/	/xayfi/	'afraid (f.)'	/yn/	/ša:ynu/	'spoiling him'
/yh/	/ša:yhi/	'her tea'	/yl/	/ša:ylɪ/	'pregnant (f.) or indignant (f.)'
/yb/	/ša:ybi/	'loose (f.)'	/yr/	/fa:yri/	'boiling (f.)'
/yd/	/ga:ydi/	'on fire (f.)'	/yw/	/Piywam/	'unhappy (used of days)'
/yg/	/ra:ygi/	'healthy (f.)'			
/yz/	/fa:yzi/	'a female's name (f.)'	/yy/	/mayyi/	'water (f.)'
/yj/	/ha:yji/	'furious (f.)'			

TABLE XXII

Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₁C₂-

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tʃf/	/kattfu/	'bind (m.s.) him!'	/xxt/	/təxxty/	(something)!"
/tts/	/gattsu/	'immerse (m.s.) him (in a liquid)!"	/xxd/	/waxxdu/	'his blow (f.)"
/ttš/	/fattšu/	'inspect (m.s.) him!"			'let (m.s.) him get used (to do some- thing)!"
/tth/	/mfatthi/	'smart (f.)'			
/tb/	/kattbu/	'make (m.s.) him write!"	/xxr/	/saxxru:hom/	'make (pl.) them work!"
/ttg/	/mwattga/	'staying (f.)'	/ħħt/	/siħħtey/	'my health'
/ttm/	/mħattmi/	'dark (f.)'	/ħħħ/	/baħħha/	'her ducks'
/ttn/	/mattnu/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) tighter!"	/ħħn/	/baħħni/	'our dueks'
/ttl/	/mħattla:bom/	'delaying (f.) them'	/ħħr/	/baħħrow/	'go (pl.) north!"
/ttr/	/mnattra/	'raining (f.)'	/ħħf/	/lahħfu/	'make (m.s.) bim feel eager!"
/kkt/	/sakktu/	'let (m.s.) him keep quiet!"	/ħħm/	/fahħmu/	'let (m.s.) him under- stand!"
/kkf/	/Sakkfu/	'make (m.s.) him stay!"	/ħħl/	/ħħħlow/	'burry (pl.)!"
/kkb/	/rakkbu/	'let (m.s.) him ride!"	/ħħr/	/sahħru/	'keep (m.s.) him awake!"
/kkħ/	/rakkħu/	'make (m.s.) him kneel!"	/bbt/	/jibbtu/	'his cloak'
/fft/	/hafftu/	'his little amount (f.)'	/bbk/	/ħabbkom/	'liked you (pl.)'
/ffs/	/Gaffsu/	'tread (m.s.) upon it (m.)!"	/bbs/	/gabbsu:hom/	'piek (pl.) them!"
/ffš/	/gaffšu:hom/	'catch (pl.) them!"	/bbx/	/sabbxow/	'search (pl.)!"
/ffħ/	/taffħu/	'fill (m.s.) it (m.)!"	/bbħ/	/sabbħow/	'use (pl.) manure!"
/ffh/	/laffhi/	'wrapped it (f.)'	/bbd/	/labbdū:hom/	'keep (pl.) wakeful over night!"
/ffd/	/naffdu/	'save (m.s.) him!"	/bbg/	/tabbgu:hom/	'her love'
/ffz/	/naffzu/	'carry (m.s.) it (m.) out!"	/bbi/	/tabbqū:hom/	'hide (pl.) them!"
/ffj/	/xaffju/	'line (m.s.) it (m.) with cement!"	/bbi/	/gabbłow/	'fold (pl.) them!"
/ffħ/	/ħaffħu/	'let (m.s.) him mediate!"	/bbi/	/sabbry/	'mould (pl.) them!"
/ffn/	/xaffnu/	'hide (m.s.) him!"	/ddf/	/naddfu:hom/	'go (pl.) south!"
/ffl/	/gafflow/	'stop (pl.) working!"	/dds/	/gadḍsu:hom/	'let (m.s.) him travel!"
/ffr/	/safru/	'let (m.s.) him travel!"	/ddħ/	/maddhi/	'patient!"
/sst/	/ħisstu/	'his share (f.)'	/ddħ/	/baddiow/	'clean (pl.) them!"
/ssf/	/gassfu:hom/	'break (pl.) them!"	/ddm/	/gaddinow/	'respect (pl.) them!"
/ssb/	/nassbu/	'help (m.s.) him!"	/ddn/	/gaddni/	'stretched it (f.)'
/ssd/	/wassdu/	'let (m.s.) him lie!"	/ddl/	/baddlu:hom/	'do (pl.) well!"
/ssħ/	/wassħu/	'widen (m.s.) it (m.)!"	/ddr/	/baddrow/	'hurry (pl.) up!"
/ssm/	/gassmow/	'divide (pl.)!"	/ddy/	/Piddyu:k/	'equal to us'
/ssn/	/massni/	'touched our (feelings)'	/ggħ/	/tagħġtu/	'change (pl.) them!"
/ssl/	/ħasslu/	'catch (m.s.) him!"	/ggħ/	/lagħfu:hom/	'come (pl.) early!"
/ssr/	/gassru/	'shorten (m.s.) it (m.)!"	/ggs/	/raggsu:hom/	'the cocks'
/ssħ/	/ħaśštu/	'his agony (f.)'	/ggħ/	/tagħġu:hom/	'his knock (f.)'
/ssf/	/naśſfu/	'dry (m.s.) it (m.)!"	/ggb/	/nagħġu:ha/	'throw (pl.) (the ball) at them!"
/ssħ/	/faśšgu/	'make (m.s.) him like			'let (pl.) them dance!"

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ggd/	/Saggdow/	'make (pl.) knots!'	/lld/	/jalldu/	'cover (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/ggm/	/saggmow/	'put (pl.) in front!'	/llg/	/Sallgow/	'start (pl.) to cook or hang (pl.)!'
/ggn/	/laggnu:hom/	'tell (pl.) them!'	/lls/	/gallṣu:hom/	'pull (pl.) them out!'
/sgl/	/Sagglu:hom/	'make (pl.) them reasonable!'	/llm/	/Sallmu/	'teach (m.s.) him!'
/ggr/	/saggrow/	'light (pl.) a fire!'	/rrt/	/garrtow/	'be (pl.) strict!'
/zzg/	/mazzgu/	'tear (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/rrk/	/barrku/	'(of the camel) let (m.s.) it (m.) kneel!'
/zzm/	/Sazzmow/	'gather (pl.) strength!'	/rrf/	/garrfu/	'make (m.s.) him feel disgusted!'
/zrz/	/fazzrow/	'guess (pl.)!'	/rrs/	/garrisu/	'pinch (m.s.) him!'
/jjt/	/hijjtū/	'his ownership paper or his reason (f.)'	/rrš/	/farrisu/	'clean (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjš/	/hajjisow/	'talk (pl.) nonsense!'	/rrb/	/xarrbu/	'ruin (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjh/	/najjhu/	'let (m.s.) him succeed!'	/rrd/	/garrdu/	'don't (m.s.) give him any property!'
/jjh/	/najjhi/	'her gossip'	/rrg/	/šarrgow/	'go (pl.) east!'
/jjb/	/rajjbow/	'talk (pl.) gently!'	/rrj/	/farrju:hom/	'let (pl.) them have a look!'
/jjm/	/rajjmow/	'throw (pl.) rocks!'	/rrg/	/farrgu/	'empty (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjl/	/rajjlow/	'act (pl.) like men!'	/rrš/	/marrṣu/	'cut (m.s.) it (m.) to pieces!'
/jjr/	/hajjrow/	'prohibit (pl.)!'	/rrm/	/ħarrmu/	'make (m.s.) him abstain!'
/ggt/	/daggtu/	'his disaster (f.)'	/wwt/	/siwwtu/	'his body side (f.)'
/ggb/	/raggbu:hom/	'let (pl.) them like (something)!'	/wwd/	/xawwdq̪w/	'wade (pl.) (in shallow water)!'
/ggr/	/saggru/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) smaller!'	/wwm/	/gawwmu/	'wake (m.s.) him up!'
/qṣt/	/Paṣṣtū/	'its (m.) rays'	/wwn/	/lawwnu/	'colour (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/qṣs/	/naqṣsu/	'let (m.s.) him sleep!'	/wwl/	/ħawwlu:hom/	'change (m.s.) their course!'
/qṣb/	/laqṣbu:/	'let (pl.) him play!'	/wwr/	/sawwru/	'build (m.s.) a fence round it (m.)!'
/qṣd/	/baqṣdu/	'keep (m.s.) him away!'	/yyt/	/xayytu/	'his sister'
/qṣm/	/naqṣmu/	'grind (m.s.) it (m.) to powder!'	/yক/	/xayykom/	'your (pl.) brother'
/qṣr/	/waqṣru/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) difficult!'	/yyh/	/fayyhu/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) leak (of news)!'
/mmt/	/lammtu/	'his gang'	/yyh/	/zayyhi/	'like her'
/mms/	/ħammsu/	'bake (m.s.) it (m.) well!'	/yyb/	/tayybu/	'cook or cure (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/mmd/	/hammdu/	'keep (m.s.) him at bay!'	/yyd/	/gayydu/	'bind (m.s.) him!'
/mmṣ/	/lammṣu/	'polish (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yyg/	/ħayygu/	'add (m.s.) salt to it (m.)!'
/mmn/	/xammnaw/	'try (pl.) to guess!'	/yyz/	/mayyzow/	'show (pl.) commonsense!'
/mml/	/hammlu/	'load (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yyṣ/	/mayyṣu/	'add (m.s.) liquid to it (m.)!'
/mmr/	/sammru/	'nail (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yym/	/sayydq̪w/	'catch (pl.) fish!'
/nnt/	/fanntu:hom/	'sort (pl.) them!'	/ynn/	/zayyni/	'like us'
/nnš/	/fannšow/	'go (pl.) to sleep!'	/yyl/	/gayylow/	'have (pl.) a mid-day siesta!'
/nnh/	/fanmhi/	'her art'	/yyr/	/tayyru:hom/	'let (pl.) them fly!'
/nnd/	/sanndu/	'support (m.s.) him!'			
/nng/	/xanngu:hom/	'strangle (pl.) them!'			
/llt/	/milltu/	'his type'			
/llk/	/mallku/	'give (m.s.) him chance!'			
/llb/	/gallbow/	'poke (pl.)!'			

TABLE XXIII

Final Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tk/	/hatk/	'scandalizing'	/sn/	/hosn/	'beauty'
/tf/	/gæf/	'picking'	/sl/	/fasl/	'class-room'
/ts/	/gats/	'diving'	/sr/	/gasr/	'palace'
/tx/	/latx/	'loose fellow'	/sy/	/ħasy/	'irrigation stream'
/tħ/	/fatħ/	'opening'	/št/	/xoħt/	'small knife'
/tb/	/gotb/	'saintly man'	/ħk/	/naħk/	'kicking'
/tg/	/fatg/	'hole (in clothes)'	/ħs/	/naħs/	'small swamp'
/tz/	/ratz/	'trotting'	/ħm/	/xaħm/	'mouth'
/tħ/	/gatħ/	'cut (n.)'	/ħr/	/naħr/	'pain'
/tm/	/xatm/	'seal (n.)'	/ħw/	/naħw/	'small stick'
/tn/	/baħtn/	'stomach'	/xt/	/baxt/	'luck'
/tl/	/rattl/	'pound (weight)'	/xs/	/ħaxxs/	'person'
/tr/	/satr/	'line (n.)'	/xd/	/waxd/	'taking'
/ty/	/ħaty/	'giving'	/xħ/	/ħaxħ/	'calling names'
/kt/	/nokt/	'trick (n.)'	/xl/	/naxl/	'palm trees'
/ks/	/ħaks/	'opposite (n.)'	/xr/	/faxr/	'boasting'
/kħ/	/nakħ/	'(of birds) picking with the beak'	/xw/	/raxw/	'soft'
			/xy/	/raxy/	'releasing'
/kb/	/røkb/	'riding'	/ħt/	/naħt/	'hard work or sculp- ture'
/km/	/bokm/	'mute (pl.)'	/ħs/	/baħs/	'search (n.)'
/kl/	/ħakl/	'shape (n.)'	/ħd/	/laħd/	'death'
/pħs/	/baħħs/	'sickness'	/ħg/	/baħg/	'frowning'
/pm/	/loħm/	'cunning'	/ħm/	/ħaħm/	'coal'
/ft/	/koft/	'smart fellow'	/ħn/	/saħn/	'plate'
/fs/	/naħs/	'soul'	/ħl/	/faħl/	'big'
/fħ/	/gafħ/	'arresting'	/ħf/	/lahf/	'snatching'
/fx/	/naħx/	'blowing'	/ħš/	/nahħ/	'biting'
/fħ/	/naħħ/	'granting'	/ħb/	/ħoħb/	'meteors'
/fd/	/naħd/	'escape (n.)'	/ħm/	/ħaħm/	'understanding'
/fg/	/laħg/	'stitching'	/bt/	/jebt/	'I brought'
/fz/	/ħeqz/	'preserving'	/bk/	/ħabk/	'joining'
/fħ/	/raħħ/	'raising'	/bs/	/ħabs/	'betrayal'
/fn/	/jeħfn/	'eyelid'	/bħ/	/ħabħ/	'unearthing'
/fl/	/gaħfl/	'shutting'	/bx/	/tħabx/	'cooking'
/fr/	/kafr/	'small village'	/bħ/	/ħabħ/	'barking'
/fw/	/ħafw/	'pardon'	/bd/	/ħabd/	'(of a man) dark in colour or slave'
/fy/	/taħf/	'extinguishing'			
/st/	/dest/	'falling down'			
/sk/	/mask/	'catching'	/bz/	/ħabz/	'baking'
/sf/	/nasf/	'blowing up'	/bħ/	/tħabħ/	'character'
/sx/	/masx/	'deforming'	/bn/	/ħobn/	'cowardice'
/sħ/	/ħaħħ/	'erasing'	/bl/	/ħabl/	'before'
/sb/	/naħħb/	'swindling'	/br/	/ħabrab/	'grave'
/sd/	/għasd/	'aim'	/ds/	/ħadra/	'heaping'
/sg/	/ħaġ/	'sticking'	/dh/	/ħadħ/	'calling'
/sħ/	/ħaħħ/	'weaving'	/db/	/ħadħb/	'mourning'
/sħ/	/ħaħħ/	'stinging'	/dg/	/ħedgħ/	'side (of the face)'
/sm/	/gasm/	'dividing'	/dm/	/ħadm/	'burying'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/dr/	/badr/	'full moon'	/mš/	/gamš/	'(sudden) arresting'
/dw/	/sydw/	'member (of a group)'	/mx/	/šamx/	'haughtiness'
/dy/	/bani ſady/	'Beni-Ady': the name of a place in Upper Egypt'	/mh/	/gamh/	'wheat'
			/mg/	/šamg/	'gum'
			/mŋ/	/gomŋ/	'cone'
/gt/	/rog̚t/	'I became well'	/mn/	/samn/	'cooking fat'
/gf/	/ſagf/	'pieces of pottery'	/ml/	/heml/	'load'
/gs/	/rags/	'dancing'	/mr/	/Pamr/	'order' or 'matter'
/gš/	/lagš/	'joking'	/nt/	/ſont/	— '(pl.) a kind of tree'
/gh/	/nagh/	'aching (of a bruise or wound)'	/nk/	/bank/	'bank'
			/nf/	/ſanf/	'kind (n.)'
/gb/	/ſogb/	'end (n.)'	/ns/	/gans/	'(close) watching'
/gd/	/nagd/	'hole (in cloth)'	/nx/	/fanx/	'cancelling (a con- tract)'
/gm/	/ragm/	'number'			
/gl/	/nagl/	'copying' or 'moving' (a thing)'	/nh/	/manh/	'granting'
			/nb/	/janb/	'beside or side'
/gr/	/fagr/	'poverty'	/nd/	/ſend/	'stubbornness or at'
/zt/	/ſozt/	'I wanted'	/ng/	/ſang/	'hanging'
/zf/	/nazf/	'bleeding'	/nz/	/ſanz/	'goat'
/zh/	/nazh/	'emptying (from liquid)'	/nS/	/manS/	'preventing'
			/lt/	/gelt/	'I forgave'
/zb/	/ňezb/	'party'	/lk/	/ſelk/	'wire'
/zg/	/lažg/	'sticking'	/lf/	/ſalf/	'feeding'
/zS/	/mazS/	'tearing'	/ls/	/hals/	'misconduct or loose'
/zm/	/jazm/	'assurance'	/lh/	/melh/	'salt'
/zl/	/ſazl/	'separation' or 'dis- missal'	/lb/	/ſolb/	'steel'
			/ld/	/jeld/	'leather'
/zr/	/jazr/	'slaying'	/lg/	/felg/	'lumber'
/jt/	/htajt/	'I needed'	/lS/	/gelS/	'sail (n.)'
/jz/	/hajz/	'detaining'	/lm/	/ſelm/	'knowledge'
/jm/	/rajm/	'throwing rocks'	/rt/	/hert/	'I felt confused'
/jn/	/ſaјn/	'making paste'	/rk/	/werk/	'thigh'
/jr/	/hajr/	'desertion'	/rf/	/ſarf/	'spending'
/gd/	/wagd/	'villain'	/rs/	/gars/	'pinching'
/gz/	/nagz/	'pricking (with a needle)'	/rš/	/garš/	'eating (crunchy foods)'
/gn/	/dogn/	'fist'	/rx/	/fark/	'mischievous'
/ſt/	/beſt/	'I sold'	/rh/	/farh/	'merriment'
/ſk/	/kaſk/	'local type of cakes'	/rb/	/darb/	'street or beating'
/ſf/	/goſf/	'stick'	/rd/	/gerd/	'monkey'
/ſš/	/naſš/	'(good) beating' or 'coffin'	/rg/	/farg/	'difference'
			/rz/	/farz/	'sorting'
/ſb/	/ſaſb/	'nation'	/rj/	/berj/	'tower'
/ſd/	/baſd/	'after'	/rš/	/ferš/	'branch'
/ſg/	/laſg/	'licking'	/rm/	/garm/	'biting' or 'eating'
/ſz/	/taſz/	'(exaggerated) praise'	/rn/	/forn/	'oven'
/mt/	/zamt/	'swallowing'	/rw/	/farw/	'fur'
/mk/	/ramk/	'restlessness'	/ry/	/fary/	'(small) hole'
/ms/	/ſams/	'blinding'	/wy/	/dawy/	'shining'

TABLE XXIV

Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂C₃-

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tfk/	/lutfkom/	'your (pl.) gentility'	/fdh/	/baʃdhom/	'after them'
/fh/	/kitfh/	'her shoulder'	/ʃgl/	/yiʃglow/	'they believe'
/tfl/	/yitflu/	'he spits it (m.)'	/msk/	/yimsku/	'holds it (m.)'
/tsh/	/Satsha/	'her cough (f.)'	/mħħ/	/gamħhom/	'their wheat'
/tšk/	/batškqm/	'your calf (of the water-buffalo)'	/mdg/	/yumdgow/	'they chew'
/tzk/	/ratzkom/	'your (pl.) trotting'	/ntr/	/yuntru/	'throws it (m.) away'
/ktm/	/yiktmow/	'they keep (a secret)'	/nsl/	/yunslu/	'pulls it (m.)'
/ktl/	/yiktlak/	'he gives you (m.s.) (a beating)'	/nšr/	/yunšrow/	'they saw (wood)'
/ksr/	/niksrū/	'I break it (m.)'	/nxl/	/yunxlu/	'sifts it (m.)'
/ftl/	/wagäftlu/	'I stood for him'	/ndk/	/Sindkom/	'with you (pl.)'
/fsh/	/nafshi/	'herself'	/ndħ/	/Sindhom/	'with them'
/fsł/	/nifslu/	'I fire him'	/ndr/	/yundrōw/	'they sacrifice'
/fšt/	/Safštu/	'his intestines'	/ngl/	/yingu/	'copies it (m.)'
/fšl/	/nifšlow/	'we spoil (a business)'	/nzħ/	/Sanzhi/	'her goat'
/fżr/	/nużżrzu/	'I infuriate him'	/lx/	/yultxgħ/	'they brush (somebody) aside'
/fjx/	/nużżjxow/	'we idle'	/lkm/	/yilkmu/	'makes him feel full (speaking of food)'
/stl/	/yistlu:nj/	'they tempt us (literally: they dope us)'	/lfz/	/yułlfzu/	'says it (m.)'
/sgr/	/yisgrow/	'they keep looking'	/lbd/	/yilbdow/	'they stay'
/stm/	/ništmu/	'I insult him'	/ldm/	/yułdmow/	'they become friends'
/škl/	/yišklow/	'they write Arabic diacritics'	/lgf/	/yulgħu:ha/	'they catch it (f.)'
/xtm/	/nixtmu/	'I stamp it (m.)'	/lgm/	/yulgħu:/	'swallows it (m.)'
/hsr/	/yuħsrxow/	'they survey (property)'	/wsl/	/yiwslu/	'shows kindness to him'
/ħšr/	/yuħšrow/	'they squeeze'	/wgħ/	/yiwgħu/	'stops him (from work)'
/htk/	/yiħtkow/	'they defame'	/wzn/	/yiwznu/	'weighs it (m.)'
/hdr/	/yuħdrōw/	'they waste (property)'	/rtl/	/yurtlu/	'pours water on it (m.)'
/ħjr/	/yuhħrak/	'deserts you'	/rkt/	/birktu/	'his pond'
/ħml/	/yihħmlow/	'they neglect'	/rkz/	/nirkzow/	'we stay'
/btl/	/jibtlu/	'I brought for him'	/rfs/	/yurfsu/	'kicks him'
/bdr/	/yuħbdrow/	'they sow (seeds)'	/rbt/	/yurbtu/	'ties it (m.)'
/gsm/	/nigsmow/	'we divide'	/rdħ/	/Pardha/	'her land'
/zkr/	/yużzkrow/	'they mention'	/rdm/	/yirdmow/	'they hail dust'
/gsl/	/yigħlow/	'they wash'	/rgt/	/firgtu/	'his group'
/škm/	/yuškħmow/	'they arrest or hold'	/rgħ/	/yirġlow/	'they run slowly'
/ſfs/	/yuħfsow/	'they tread upon'	/rgħ/	/yirġlur:k/	'they give you a good beating'
/ſsr/	/yuħisrow/	'they squash'	/rmħ/	/barmhom/	'their wandering'
/ſdk/	/baʃdkom/	'after you (pl.)'			